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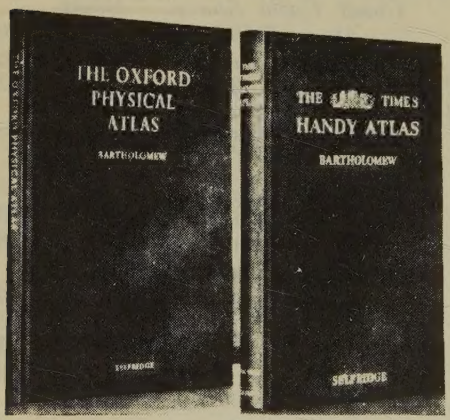

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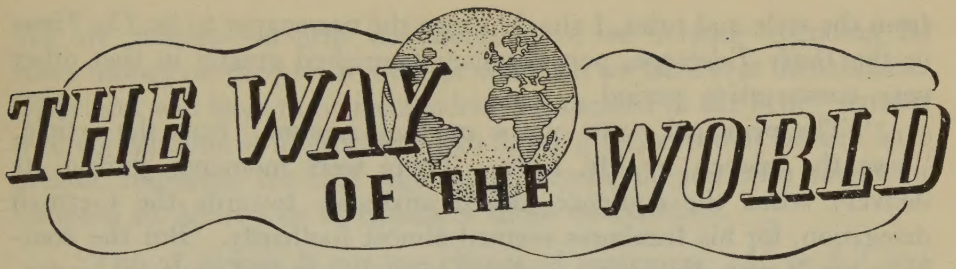


NEWS FROM THE FUTURE

by VERNON BARTLETT

MY great-great-grandson, reacting against the heavy and over-decorated furniture which this Second or Bourgeois Republic has adopted in order to show its emancipation from the artistic severity of the recent past, recently bought from a dealer a nice simple cupboard with chromium and glass fittings such as was fashionable a century ago. One of the drawers he found to be lined with an old newspaper, and a few days ago, while he was having his radium bath, he amused himself by reading it. A narrow strip at the top of the page had been torn off to make it fit the drawer more conveniently, but books of reference showed him that the article which most interested him—since he had been a promising young member of the Commissariat for International Relations until the counter-revolution lost him his job—dealt with a Five-Power Conference held in October or November 1936. Mr. Anthony Eden, the British representative, was then a young Foreign Minister, and not the hoary old Prime Minister of the nineteen eighties.

My great-great-grandson, with a courtesy one does not always expect from the younger generations towards those of us who were foolish enough to try Gouritcheff's longevity treatment, has placed this speech at my disposal in the belief that it would interest me to be thus reminded of a remote past. In that same spirit I submit it to readers of WORLD REVIEW, now so nearly a century old.

I have, I fear, been too lazy to identify the newspaper. Wars and revolutions have destroyed so many of our archives and so many permits are necessary before one may have access to those which remain that I could not, at my advanced age, undertake the task. But,

from the style and print, I should judge the newspaper to be *The Times* or the *Daily Telegraph*, papers which flourished greatly in that other very conservative period.

"The principal event of the opening session," runs the article, "was the speech by Mr. Eden. There were moments during its delivery when the audience looked anxiously towards the German delegation, for his frankness seemed almost foolhardy. But the complete break with diplomatic tradition entirely justified itself. I understand that Baron von Neurath, the head of the German delegation, had a long personal talk by telephone with the Führer during the luncheon adjournment, and it was as a result of this conversation that he was able to give so striking a welcome to the British proposals at the evening session.

"The following are the principal points from the Foreign Secretary's speech :—'If I begin my speech today by reminding you that I already have a long and varied experience of international conferences, you may be sure that I do so in no boasting spirit, for these conferences have met with failure or, at best, very limited success. I do so because I am about to make a drastic, perhaps a dangerous, breach in the normal procedure of such gatherings. I would only ask those of you who may be tempted to take offence at my frankness to remember how desperately serious the international situation has become and how futile it would be to waste further time over compliments which are pleasant to hear but which in no way bring us nearer our objective, and let me remind you that our objective is the abolition of this distrust which is driving us towards bankruptcy and war.

'Gentlemen, I will not insult your intelligence with these customary compliments. For the truth is that I and my countrymen have very little confidence in you—in some of you, let me say. You, in your turn, distrust me and the government I represent. You remember, and rightly so, the lamentable gap between promise and performance in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, and the unreadiness even to offer promises in earlier disputes which affected you more directly.

'Very well, then, I will speak frankly. Let me, in the first place, express the firm conviction that this is our very last chance of agreement. Unless, within the next few days, we can in fact restore confidence, my government will refuse to play any further part in international discussions which will have become nothing but a sham.

We are already—so little confidence have we in you—spending far more money on the preparation for war than we have ever done before. That sum will have to be tremendously increased in the belief that our own conceptions of liberty are worth fighting for, and that we still have greater resources for that fight than anyone of you who might be tempted to destroy or to endanger those conceptions.

'This, I repeat, is our last chance of agreement. If we fail now each one of us will fight for himself. Some may try isolation, some may try alliances, but we shall live in an atmosphere of growing hatred which will certainly end in war, and in far more terrible war than the world has yet seen.

'I have no confidence in the trends in Germany and Italy. I am not so foolish as to imagine that Herr Hitler and the German people, Signor Mussolini and the Italian people, want war. But I do believe that they are leading us towards war. I see my German colleague shows violent signs of dissent, but I must remind him that I am not alone in holding this belief. There is hardly a delegate in this hall who, whatever his politeness or his diplomacy may compel him to say, is not convinced that Germany is his greatest danger. Italy, had she not wasted so much of her strength on an understandable but useless campaign in East Africa, would alarm us just as much. For the governments in these two countries are, quite definitely and whatever their denials or excuses, bringing up their youth to believe that war is a glorious means to a glorious end.

'I hate that system of education and do not hesitate to say so frankly. There are in my own country, and most of all in my own party, people who argue that we must be friendly with Germany and Italy just because they are strong. I refuse to be influenced by such cowardly and immoral arguments.

'But there are two considerations which prevent me from feeling self-righteous, however much you may believe that I sound it. So convinced am I that the mass of the people in every country normally look upon war as the greatest curse of humanity that I interpret this glorification of war as an evidence rather of ill-health than of ill-will. It is an abnormality due to the abnormal conditions under which the present leaders of Germany have grown up. For those conditions my own people bear so much responsibility that I shall not commit

the folly and injustice of throwing stones. We bear that responsibility because we produced all sorts of moral arguments to justify peace terms that were in great part dictated by immoral motives—fear, greed and revenge.

'I will not today repeat that error. I want once and for all to remove every suspicion of inequality between races. This is not easy to do since, in the minds of the victors, the vanquished in the last war already seem to possess such superiority, at any rate as far as methods of making war are concerned. But the inequality clauses of the Versailles and other peace treaties have never specifically been renounced. As far as my country is concerned I renounce them here and now, and declare my readiness to accept any formula which lays the blame for the last war not on any one government but on the cowardly inability of all governments to make those sacrifices which were necessary to the preservation of peace.

'That brings me to my second consideration. A year ago in Geneva my predecessor in office, Sir Samuel Hoare, hinted, in terms which at the time caused much speculation, at his government's desire for a more equitable distribution of the world's raw materials. He did not, I think, envisage the transfer of territory from one State to another, since economists have proved, even if politicians have refused to agree, that prosperity cannot thus be distributed to an extent which at all compensates for the resulting hardships and injustices to individuals—especially native inhabitants of the areas in question.

'But there must be some way of assuring absolute equality of access to the world's raw materials, and His Majesty's Government in Great Britain are prepared to submit to an impartial expert committee the whole problem of the international control of all territories under all flags which are not yet fully self-governing. Naturally we make this offer only on condition that all other States with such territories in their possession show a similar spirit of conciliation, and that those States which will be the principal beneficiaries themselves agree to the abolition or reduction of their tariff barriers, which far more often than any unwillingness on the part of others to supply raw materials at the lowest possible prices are the cause of their distress. We pledge ourselves in advance to accept any recommendations of such a committee.

'I am fully aware that I am going far beyond the terms of reference of the present five-power conference. But, gentlemen, our five States have tremendous importance and influence, and if we were to agree upon measures for the future organisation of peace we should give a lead which others would gratefully follow. And that brings me to my last proposal. I have so far made suggestions which involve concessions only on the part of the ex-victor nations. They are, I believe, still stronger than the dissatisfied powers, even if only because the great majority of States have no fear of us, the satisfied States, and they do fear such States as Germany and Italy.

'Some months ago Herr Hitler made, among other interesting proposals, one for the abolition of all hostile teaching in schoolbooks. I should like to take up that suggestion, and to extend it by urging that history books should be submitted to an international committee for approval. But that is not enough. All this talk of the glories of war, all this preparation for it must stop. My government have not forgotten that Germany made many sweeping offers to disarm, on a strictly reciprocal basis, in 1933 and 1934. They are aware that they, and still more the French, then let slip an admirable opportunity of agreement. But they do not believe that it is now too late, for only statesmen who want war, who believe in war as an instrument of national policy, will reject a bold attempt to disarm, when it has become so obvious that an armaments race can end only in war. Such statesmen, if any there be, are the enemies of mankind, and the sooner they are shown up, the better.

'And do not misunderstand me. I have said some harsh words about Germany and Italy, and I have referred to my own government's failures. But I have also a few words of warning to France. I do not consider that Germany is accorded that equality she demands while France combines her loyalty to the League with the maintenance of a whole series of alliances which have no regional or economic *raison d'être*—which have, indeed, no *raison d'être* at all except the fear and distrust of Germany. Herr Hitler cannot be blamed for objecting to this system of alliances. They cannot be justified on the ground that they are a reply to the provocative speeches of the Nazis since they were established for the most part many years before National-Socialism had become a force in Germany. They were established for the definite purpose of keeping Germany weak and in that very

situation of inferiority which Herr Hitler is making such alarming efforts to destroy.

'If His Majesty's Government in Great Britain are to make their obligations more precise, even in this Western European area with which we are to deal here, they will only do so on condition that there are no regional or bilateral understandings which give offence elsewhere. Any international policy in which we cooperate must be based first, last, and all the time upon the Covenant of the League of Nations.

'Gentlemen, I have finished. I will not, in this preliminary speech, come to my detailed proposals. Instead, I demand clear replies from each one of you to a clear statement. You have to choose between peace and war. We, in Great Britain, most earnestly want peace, but our fear of war will not persuade us to accept weak compromises. We have learnt to our own cost, during the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, how disastrous may be the muddles following from a policy of opportunism. If you are not prepared to accept a system which rules out war, which gives us international control of armaments and raw materials and aviation, which checks the inculcation of militarism and hatred of other peoples, then we must draw our own conclusions. We shall prepare for war with the utmost vigour, for no aggressor must catch us unprepared.

'But I do not believe that my appeal will be in vain. I have found it difficult so frankly to admit my own and my government's shortcomings. I ask you to respond in the same way, with equal frankness and honesty, and with as great a readiness to accept to the full the implications and sacrifices of your choice between peace and war. I pray God you may choose peace.'

"Mr. Eden's speech met with an enthusiastic welcome such as few speeches at international conferences have ever received. One recalled, as the nearest parallel, the applause which greeted M. Aristide Briand's oration in 1924, when Germany first entered the League of Nations. I have the best reason for stating that the Foreign Secretary was himself intensely surprised and gratified."

* * *

With these words my great-great-grandson's newspaper report comes to an end.

THE OPEN FORUM

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the opinions they set out, frank articles by men of international fame. We are pleased to welcome to it this month two writers particularly qualified to speak on the question of reform of the League of Nations—Lord Allen of Hurtwood, and a distinguished German statesman.

A PEACE PLAN FOR SEPTEMBER

by LORD ALLEN OF HURTWOOD

THIS article is written with an eye to the decisive meeting of the League Assembly in September. There will be two ways of making use of that meeting. The nations can waste a lot of time—and do a lot of harm—by tinkering with the Covenant of the League, insisting that the blame for their present misfortunes rests upon faulty mechanism. Or they can devote their attention to a new policy for the settlement of Europe, and come back to the machinery of the League when they have decided what they want it to do. I am convinced that the only hope lies in the second alternative. We want a new policy, not a new Covenant.

But if policy is to take precedence over machinery, what is that policy to be ? First and foremost it must be comprehensive in character. Next it must be initiated by Great Britain, for it is Britain that has loved obscurity, excusing herself on the ground that she has to be the intermediary between quarrelsome nations. It is Britain alone amongst the Great Powers who still has influence enough to mobilise support from that multitude of nations, great and small, which will otherwise be forced to follow their fears rather than their sympathies.

Why then must a new policy be comprehensive ? I mean by that word that the policy should approach the peace of Europe by several paths simultaneously—not by tackling first one problem and

then another. It must give life to both sides of the Covenant—that which could remedy grievances and that which could organise the protection of law.

Hitherto our foreign policy has been a hectic pursuit of a series of explosive incidents. We British have believed it realistic (a deadly trap, that word) to tackle some isolated explosion in Europe and to say: "Now if we could get that right, the road would be clear for the next step forward." As a matter of fact this has proved exactly the wrong form of realism. I do not mean that we should deny the value of any special opportunity such as the meeting of the "Locarno Powers" in connection with the Demilitarised Zone. Indeed this will offer a very real new hope. But it can only be a means of promoting peace in Europe, provided that the five Powers, when they meet, are prepared to tackle far wider issues than security in the West. Indeed by concentrating on that area, they may even create a storm elsewhere in Europe. And so—although the technique of getting the Five Powers together is good, the need for a comprehensive policy will confront them when they meet, just as it will confront the League Assembly itself.

If there is no such policy, the smaller Powers in East and South-east Europe will be dismayed, because, should a danger threaten them, they will have to meet it as best they can in ignorance of whether there is to be a wider plan for Europe, which could have a direct bearing upon their individual needs.

The results of this catch-as-catch-can policy are that no incident is in fact finally settled; no chance is provided to stop the armaments race; and a scurrying to cover for the lesser nations is made inevitable. The final upshot is that we are drifting back into the division of Europe into balances of power and old-fashioned alliances.

Policies of Despair

Unhappily there is also a dangerous disposition on the part of the pamphleteers of the Left in Britain to advocate policies of despair, which can only still further strengthen the tendency to divide up Europe into rival camps with rival ideologies. This will lead to war as certainly as it did in 1914, and will confirm those opponents of the League, who are already sneering that we shall now have bigger and better wars—the only difference being that they will be League wars.

Let me therefore explain the nature and the value of a plan that is comprehensive. It must be comprehensive not only geographically, but in objective and in procedure. Let us confine our attention first to Europe, because if we can establish peace in Europe, we can restore the League's peace to the world at large and evoke the sympathy of America.

Hitherto the League has to all intents and purposes been a combination of Powers interested in protecting the Treaty of Versailles. Consequently there has never been a spontaneous initiative to use its machinery to bring about change by peaceful means. By withholding a generous initiative towards the remedying of grievances, nearly all changes have been wrung from us by force. The Lytton Commission proved that the League machinery was perfectly competent to recommend variations in the *status quo*, but the machinery was not brought into play voluntarily. Therefore no good spiritual result could emerge. We have let Dictatorship get the credit which ought to have gone to Democracy. From this it has naturally followed that we have thought

" Dublin Opinion "

ANNO 1950

General Secretary: "If some country would only pay its subscription we could send for a plumber."

" Simplicissimus," Munich

AUSTRO-GERMAN AGREEMENT

League Loungers: "This Central-European activity is positively an insult to the League."

of the League far too much as an instrument of force, and not enough as an instrument of justice. This false emphasis has in turn made it impossible for us to organise the League successfully even as an instrument of force; and has destroyed every effort to give reality to what we call collective security. One reason for this is that the British people have been reluctant to share in schemes of collective defence, because they have felt in their bones that, if they did, they would be protecting something that was unjust.

Change Must Come

There has been neither collective force nor collective justice. There has been only drift and disintegration, while change has been effected by technically illegitimate procedure. We must now do by design what we have previously allowed to be done by accident. We must at the September Assembly put forward in one comprehensive statement an Agenda showing how grievances can be explored on the one side, and law protected on the other. This two-headed statement must be as morally challenging and as intellectually formidable as President Wilson's fourteen points.

We shall of course, be told that this is a vague omnibus gesture (the word "unrealistic" will be used again). We shall be warned that it will unlock the very gates of confusion, and put every nation into a state of nerves as to its frontiers. Not at all. We shall only be making an eleventh hour effort to do thoughtfully and under control what will otherwise be done by the desperado, the *Putsch* or the dare-devil chance-taker. Our "realist" friends can take comfort from the fact that this comprehensive statement can easily be fitted into the Locarno discussions. The pity of it is that the Locarno meeting will not have taken place before the Assembly meeting. None the less, if such an Agenda is placed by Britain on the Assembly table in September, it will enable us to defer mischief for idle hands, which would otherwise take the form of tinkering meantime with the League Covenant.

Next comes the question: What precise suggestions should we make on the subject of treaty revision and grievance remedying? Certainly not ill-thought-out, hasty, rigid proposals about frontiers, colonies and so on—nor a cumbersome "World Conference," dissipating the energy of hundreds of diplomatists and thousands of

secretaries. No ; it is a suitable procedure that we must suggest, not the detailed final remedies. For procedure, if honestly established, will convince the dissatisfied countries that the League is going at last to be used as an instrument of justice. The most practical procedure will be the setting up of international Fact-Finding Commissions to consider the facts relating to raw materials ; problems of surplus population ; colonial outlets ; extensions of the mandatory system ; access to markets.

We want the facts as a preliminary to proposing the remedies. We may find that some of these grievances are only emotional states of mind. None the less they are sources of grave irritation. Therefore, let us drag the facts and the statistics into the daylight. Then with this material before us, the nations, which desire to submit claims for international consideration, can come forward and do so in an atmosphere which for the first time is honest and favourable.

This brings us straight up against the other side of the dual picture. Will we all protect a new settlement, if we reach it ? That is the old subject which the British have burked all the way through. We cannot do so any longer; nor need we, if we can at last assume that what we are to protect is just.

Here I venture to make a rather novel suggestion. The intention of all the nations to protect what they ultimately sign should be declared at the very opening of the new negotiations and not kept back to the end. The settlement will of course take time to negotiate. But we must all declare at the outset that we would protect it, if it should be arrived at. Only in that way can we give confidence to the negotiations and ensure the bona fide conduct of the negotiators. They must feel able to put their cards on the table. Europe is full of distrust. We must find a means of testing the good faith of every nation in order to allay apprehension.

"*Ahora*," *Madrid*

"When will this armament race stop ?"
"When each nation has twice as many arms as the other."

"Will you protect what you sign? Yes or No?" If any nation hangs back or says no, then it is revealed as the enemy of European society, and the others will know where they stand.

Lastly comes the question: What proposal for discussion should we put forward as to the method of protecting the new law? It must certainly cover all Europe. It should of course make economic sanctions a universal obligation. But that will be insufficient in an armed world. Collective force must also be available. No nation is going to rely upon the protection of economic sanctions alone after the experience of Abyssinia—still less will they otherwise proceed to reduce their armaments. If armaments remain, there must be a collective policy for their use. To get one sanction used, all must in future be known to be available. If all sanctions are predictable in advance, then we may hope that none will have to be used.

No Hope in Regional Pacts

But if collective force is in future to be prepared for and known to be available, how should it be organised? Here we come to a most crucial point, a decision upon which is indispensable to British safety, to the peace of Europe, and to the smaller Powers in particular. There is no hope to be found in Regional Pacts. A geographical pact is the organisation of force on behalf of law in a special area. Its validity depends upon whether it can provide preponderant power against any aggressor within the pact. But there is only one pact of that kind conceivable—the Western Pact. No similar pact is possible anywhere else in Europe, giving preponderant power against any aggressor within its area. And so, for the British to limit their commitments to the one and only Pact that can be organised, means that we retire for safety west of the Rhine, while the rest of Europe blows up. Nor indeed should we even find our own protection in a Safety Pact behind the Rhine. If France straddles across from the Western Pact to the Eastern area, and if we remain involved—as we must—in the East Mediterranean, we shall assuredly be dragged into a conflagration.

Therefore, the military obligations of those who sign the new settlement must be universal throughout Europe, exactly as will be the case with economic sanctions. There is, however, a method of varying the contribution of force from each participant; it is

already set down in Annexe F. of the Locarno Treaty. Let me quote it :—

> " . . . the obligations resulting from Article XVI of the Covenant on Members of the League must be understood to mean that each State Member of the League is bound to cooperate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account."

This means that Britain, for instance, would be " all in," if a breach of the peace occurred in the West, but would probably only contribute either with air or naval forces in more distant European areas. This method of an obligation, which is universal, and a contribution which varies, is far more realistic and more likely to protect the peace of Europe and to avoid entanglements for Britain, than a rigid geographical pact, which is unreliable.

What Will the British People Do?

If I am asked : " Will the British people support this comprehensive dual statement being put upon the Agenda for the September Assembly ? " , I reply : " Yes." What they will not support is being entangled by accident first in this remote area beyond their frontier and then in that. If they are to protect the law of Europe (and incidentally their own safety), they must be able to see a clear picture of the whole new settlement, and they must feel that it is a just one. In that case the British public will protect international law with the same resolution that they have hitherto used in defence of their own frontiers.

This dual approach in September to the problem of European peace will test the bona fides of every nation including our own. We shall all know who is with Peace and Justice and who is against it ; If the vast majority of the nations have to go forward and leave out any particular country, they can do so with far more justification and assurance, and make the League an efficient instrument, if their procedure in September has given every country the chance of taking the honest course.

It seems to me deplorable that so many wise and good persons should be throwing up their hands in despair and starting schemes

for a new League of Nations before trying out this procedure. They are simply playing into the hands of those who have always wanted to destroy the League.

Britain is the one country which can submit this comprehensive Agenda, covering both sides of the League functions. The proposal can arise naturally out of the Locarno discussions. It will bring all the nations of east and west Europe round the Conference table to devise a new policy, not a new Covenant. Thereafter will be time enough to consider strengthening the Articles of the Covenant ; and then we shall be able to resume the conference to reduce armaments with some real prospect of success.

THE PERFECT CUSTOMS OFFICER

THE village of Le Perthus, on the Spanish frontier, has an extremely affable mayor, M. Casademon. He is also Customs Officer.

An army of urchins is at his disposal. While the occupants of passing cars are having their passports stamped, the children sidle up and read their names. Then they rush and inform our mayor ; he comes out and welcomes you by name. Which is always flattering.

M. Casademon is also celebrated for several remarks, the funniness of which he has not always realised. Someone mentioned Hannibal's crossing of the Pyrenees with his elephants. Said M. Casademon magnificently : " I passed him through the Customs." He took Hannibal for the name of a circus.—*Marianne, Paris.*

THE NEW GENERATION

UNEMPLOYMENT, economic crisis, nobles, lower classes, muzhiks—to almost two-thirds of the population of the Soviet Union, these are only conceptions of tsarist Russia learned from books or handed down from an older generation. To 62.1 per cent. of the 170 million people in the USSR the entire conception if a capitalist world is something of which they have no actual living experience.—*Moscow News.*

QUIET TOWN?

" GERMANY'S plans in foreign policy and other problems of State were, it is believed, being discussed in the quiet town of Bayreuth, where the Wagner Festival opened during the week-end."—*Irish Press.*

Wagner's music must have changed a lot since we heard it last !—*Dublin Opinion.*

TWO MILES OF KISSES

Two miles of kisses had to be cut out of foreign films imported into Japan in 1935. The censors have also cut four miles of crime and adventure which was considered to be unsuitable for Japanese morals.—*Neue Freie Presse, Vienna.*

GERMAN VIEWS ON LEAGUE REFORM

by FREIHERR VON RHEINBABEN, *ex-Secretary of State*

LET us bear in mind that, at the present juncture, "League Reform" is not merely a subject for discussion by some League of Nations Society or by some summer school, but that the League itself has publicly asked all member States to draw up written proposals for an alteration of the Covenant and to lodge them with the Secretariat by September 1. When the League Assembly meets at the end of that month, these proposals are to be submitted to it and to be made the subject of a resolution to be passed by it. Something, therefore, is certain to be done ; and even if it were decided to turn down all proposals for a reform, this would be a matter of very considerable political importance.

Germany, of course, is no longer a member of the League, and no proposals will be submitted by her. The whole question, however, is nevertheless of interest to her, and that for obvious reasons. The chief reason is that at the present moment, when the European countries are rapidly rearming, every important regional event—such as the Spanish Civil War—is bound to touch the interests of all other nations far more directly than in the past. And whatever we may think of the League, we cannot ignore the fact that it still exists. Some of its most influential members, indeed, desire that it should emerge from the present serious crisis stronger than it was before its outbreak. Regarded from these various aspects, a brief account of Germany's attitude towards League Reform—however sketchy it may be—will presumably be of some topical interest.

No problem affecting the present political conditions of Europe can be intelligently understood unless we know how it arose. A few remarks of mine on the subject, "Germany and the League," may therefore prove helpful. As far as Germany is concerned, the question of League Reform is as old as the League itself. As soon as the latter had been founded, it became evident that—owing to its numerous shortcomings—the German people could not regard it as a healthy and lasting organisation, at least not in the form given to it in 1919-20.

After the definite withdrawal of the United States from the policy

embodied in the Versailles Treaty, France and Great Britain became the Powers mainly responsible for the activities carried on by the League. Since then, France has always looked upon it as a "Society of the Victors," intended to secure the war gains and to perpetuate the subjection of Germany. In the same proportion as Germany regained her power and her sovereign rights, France proceeded to use the League for the purpose of creating what may be called anti-German coalitions and to utilise it as a cloak for the complicated system of alliances concluded by her. Everyone in Germany is aware that Great Britain has never fully identified herself with views such as these. Her attitude towards the League has always differed from that of France in many respects, even though she has never taken any decisive steps to prevent developments which from her own point of view she considered undesirable.

Broadly speaking, therefore, the activities of the League (with the one important exception of the sanctions against Italy) have always reflected the intentions of France and her friends. The methods employed by Geneva whenever France failed to realise her aims at the first attempt, more especially after Germany had become a League member, have always been the same, including—among others—unsatisfactory compromises, adjournments, or the appointment of committees whose work dragged on until no one took any interest in it any longer.

Lost Faith

I was present in September 1926, when Germany was elected a League member. I also was the last German delegate who, on October 14, 1933, made an official statement at Geneva. I have vivid recollections of both events and of the years between. The Locarno pact had been signed in 1925, and was to become operative the day Germany joined the League. Great hopes were then entertained in Germany in connection with that agreement, and it was thought that the armies occupying the Rhineland would at least be materially reduced forthwith. But those hopes proved futile, and almost nothing came of them.

For seven years Germany took a part in the League's activities. And what were the results? Throughout that time the discrimination against her remained in force, and equality of status (*i.e.*, practically

speaking, equality of power) continued to be denied to her. Thus the law was interpreted—whenever she was concerned—in a spirit differing from that governing the decision affecting those countries that were in possession of the necessary power, or their friends. It shall not be denied that occasional attempts were made to establish a system of genuine collaboration ; but even they failed to bring about a change in the fundamentally misdirected policy of the League towards Germany. When, therefore, the League itself and the Disarmament Conference refused—as late as 1933— to recognise her as a sovereign Power enjoying the same rights as all other nations, she severed her connections with Geneva.

A Bad Record

And what has the League done since that fourteenth day of October 1933 ? It was misused by those who mould its decisions to censure Germany for the reintroduction of universal military service as a weapon of defence. This was done although the statesmen responsible for that decision knew what the sequence of events had been. In April 1934, Germany submitted renewed proposals aiming at an understanding in regard to armament restrictions. Great Britain and Italy accepted them on principle, but France—acting under the unfortunate influence of M. Barthou—refused to entertain them, and caused the negotiations, which had been quite promising until then, to break down.

Not much later, Soviet Russia —in her twofold role as a great State and as the champion of Bolshevism—joined the anti-German coalition and by becoming a member of the League, increased greatly her dangerous influence on the fate of Europe. In January 1935, M. Laval went to Rome and gave Italy a free hand against Abyssinia.

"Das Schwarze Korps," Berlin

"A plane in the hand is worth two birds on the roof," is the caption of this German cartoon.

France's attempt to make Italy, grumbling about events in Austria, also a member of the anti-German front was unmistakable. Thus, Germany was compelled—in March 1935—to take independent action, which she did by providing herself with a fully competent force of national defence.

Although the League is meant to be an international instrument for the maintenance of peace and the reign of law, it failed in those days to dissociate itself from the special interests of some of its members. It even identified itself with them, thus proving that it had practically no understanding of the historical events that took place in 1934 and 1935.

Sanctioned Encirclement

This is the first of the great mistakes which, as Germany views the situation, the League has committed since October 1933. The second is that it made no efforts to prevent the strengthening of the disastrous system of blocs and alliances culminating in the military agreements between France, Russia and Czechoslovakia, which are unilaterally directed against Germany. How could the League pretend that these agreements were " regional understandings " ? Does it really fail to see that an agreement whose final object can only be achieved when its signatories prevent the passing of a unanimous resolution by the League Council, turns in itself the highest function exercisable by the League—*i.e.*, that of maintaining peace—into a complete farce ? And how was it possible that the League censured Germany a second time when, in March 1936, she took steps to protect her own territory by re-occupying the Rhineland ? What caused it practically to identify itself, almost at the behest of Moscow, with the work of preparing for war, instead of placing itself at the service of those desirous of preventing war by the removal of its possible causes ?

According to the views held by Germany, the situation was such that the League could then have rendered a great service to itself and could, furthermore, have created the conditions that would have paved the way for Germany's return to the League. It could have carefully examined the danger points and ought to have made a determined effort to reform itself root and branch, being inspired by a wish to provide equal security for all. It has done nothing of the kind.

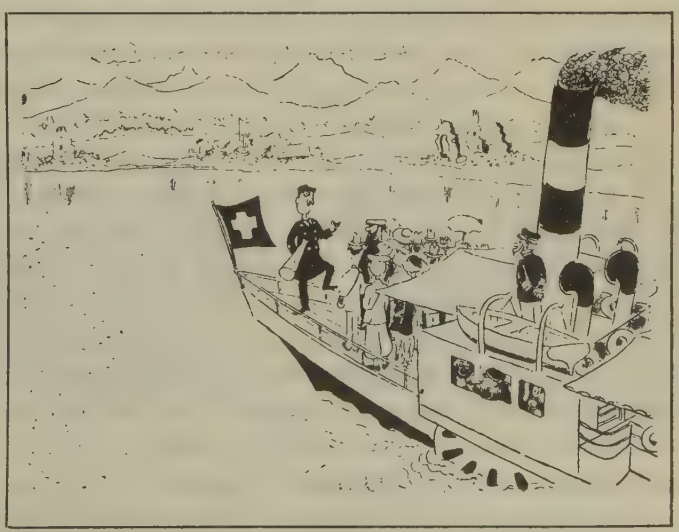
The stimulus to the present projects of " reform " did not originate

from a recognition of the fundamental error the League had made hitherto in its dealings with Germany and the peace problem. It was provided by the failure of the policy of sanctions against Italy. We all know the various stages of the resultant development and we also know that Germany, although carefully watching it, took no part in it. From our present knowledge of the preparatory steps in the direction of League reform there emerges the fact that certain suggestions emanating from the South American countries are to be consciously ignored, that the reform is to be limited to European conditions, and that it is merely intended to formulate a new interpretation of some important articles of the Covenant. The French system of alliances and its peculiar method of drawing up " regional pacts " are to be left intact and may even be strengthened at the expense of Geneva. Great Britain's military obligations concerning a possible " aggressor " are to be narrowed down. In addition, some British and French ministers have stated that, in their opinion, the prescribed unanimity of the League members might be dispensed with whenever its attainment would make it more difficult to take immediate action against the " aggressor." The implication in all these cases is that the part of such an aggressor will be played by Germany.

In the face of these conditions, can anyone be surprised to see that Germany has not the slightest desire to associate herself with prepara-

A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE

" From this point, ladies and gentlemen, we can admire the ruins of the Temple of the League of Nations of Geneva, and the remains of the Conference of Montreux. Near Lausanne is the necropolis of Tafari and, beyond the mountains, the last vestige of the Pact of Locarno."



Il Travaso delle Idee, Rome

tions for such a kind of "reform?" As regards her attitude, she continues to be bound by the peace plan announced by Herr Hitler on March 31. Her willingness to return to the League is there made dependent upon the condition that Europe must first be pacified in conformity with the German proposals. She expects that the question of her colonial equality of status will be settled in due course by means of amicable negotiations and that the League Covenant will be severed from the framework of the Versailles Treaty. The principal aim of her foreign policy is to effect the general pacification of Europe and to gain complete recognition of her unrestricted sovereignty as a Great Power, without any discrimination. Compared with this, the contemplated alteration of the League Covenant or the re-interpretation of some of its articles is of minor importance to her.

Direct Methods Wanted

It is now intended that the five "ex-Locarno Powers" are to meet in conference some time in the autumn. The attempt is to be made to effect the pacification of Europe—in the first place that of Western Europe—on a new basis. Thus, the method of consultation among the Powers directly concerned—a method which, in Germany's view, is the only one likely to be successful—has been adopted. Germany is second to none in hoping that the proposed conference will open the way to the great aim of providing improved guarantees for peace. In that case, her return to Geneva would mark the successful accomplishment of a comprehensive and by no means simple plan for a general European settlement. Such a result would automatically constitute a "reform of the League," but it would be achieved by a method diametrically opposed to the one applied by France.

Let me conclude by expressing a personal opinion of mine. I do not believe that many of my countrymen—especially in view of the happenings in Spain and the attitude of Soviet Russia and Bolshevism towards them—consider that peace can be strengthened or secured by some resolution, passed by way of a compromise by a committee at Geneva, on the subject of the alteration or re-interpretation of certain articles of the League Covenant. On the contrary, the pacification of Europe can only be brought about if the governments of those countries on whose decisions it depends make up their minds to act and collaborate with foresight, sincerity and a regard for justice.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

CONTRETEMPS AT THE SHOW

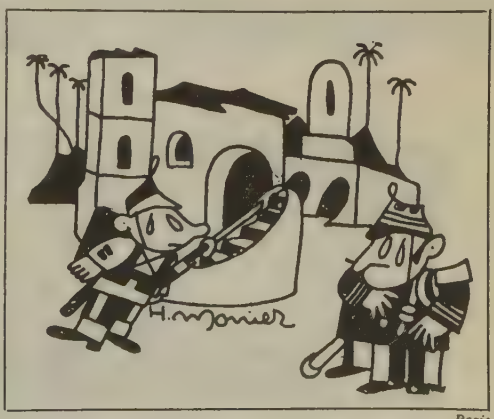
"Dublin Opinion"

"I just happened to look up and there it was!"

SPANISH CRISIS *"Kladderadatsch," Berlin*

Le Canard Enchaîné,"

"The soldier has gone over to the enemy . . . we now have twenty-seven generals and fourteen squads of colonels."



Paris

"The rebel general has mutinied and threatens to join the insurgents."

"CORRECT ATTITUDES" IN SPAIN.

Low in the "Evening Standard," London

THE INCORRIGIBLE TOURISTS

"Excuse me, is this the way to the bull-fight ?"

"Marianne," Paris

AUSTRIA AND GERMANY WIN THE PEACE PRIZE

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

France : "Quick, quick ! we must show that collective running is faster !"

International Exchange of Fashions

Wyndham Robinson in the "Morning Post," London

—"There's a crisis. We've more Inspectors than taxpayers!"

"Dublin Opinion"

At the Travel Agency:
—"You touch at Spain, Palestine, China, the U.S., and at Marseilles"

"Il Travaso delle Idee," Rome

—"What's this?"
—"It's the gentleman who touched at Spain, Palestine and China"

"Kladderadatsch," Berlin

Roumania, it is reported, is allowing Czechoslovakia to construct a strategic railway through Bukovina to Russia.

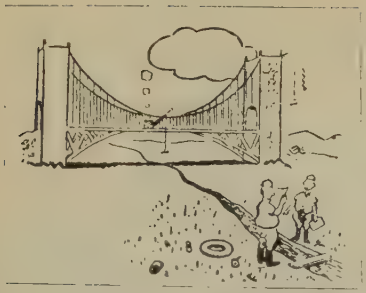
OLYMPIC FILM STRIP

"Simplicissimus," Munich

"Petit Parisien," Paris

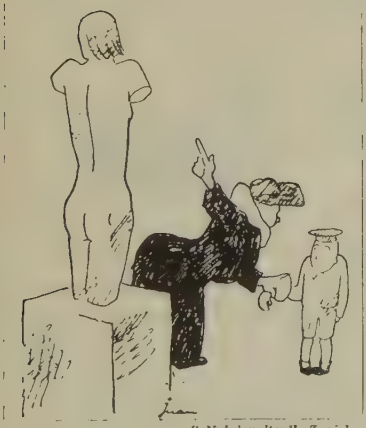
THE GENERAL TAKES THE OFFENSIVE:

"Carramba! . . . let me get at the Microphone!"



"Everybody's," London,

". . . Are you sure we have built the bridge over the right river ?"



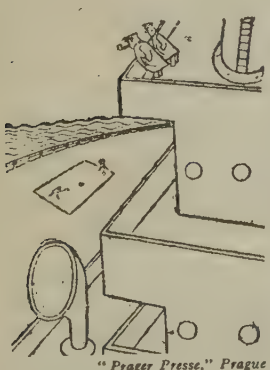
"Nebelspalter," Zurich

"You see what comes of always biting one's nails !"

THE AUSTRIAN LINK

"Haagsche Post," The Hague

Will the Bridge hold ?

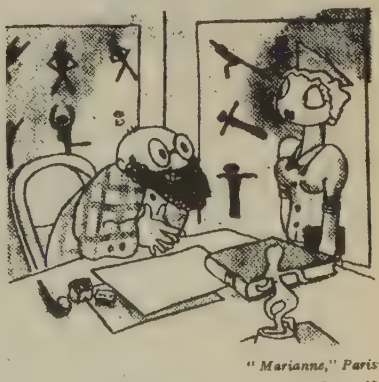


"Prager Presse," Prague

"My cabin is only a quarter of an hour from the sea"

"Le Canard Enchaine," Paris

"At least, he won't cost much to feed."



"Marianne," Paris

"May I speak to the Beauty Editor."
"Yes, that's me . . ."

Boris Efimov in "Izvestia," Moscow

Fascist armies have weak legs.

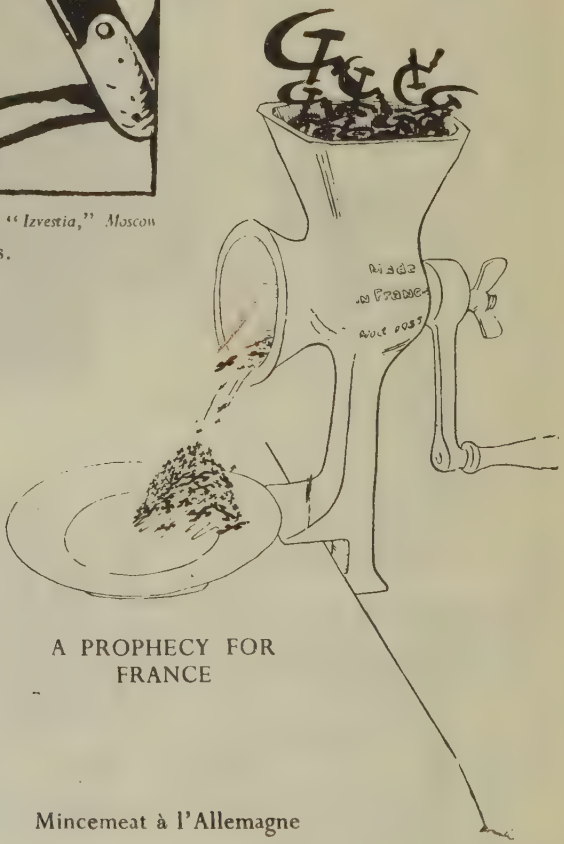
FRENCH ARMY HOPES FOR DOUBLE PAY

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"Now that the armaments industry is nationalised we shall be the war profiteers."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"My father is for Doriot, my mother for La Rocque and my sister for Pozzo di Borgo."
"And you ?"
"Oh, I am for the little lady downstairs."



A PROPHECY FOR FRANCE

Mincemeat à l'Allemagne

Nebelspalter," Zurich

LOCARNO

Talks—9 *a.m. to* 3 *a.m.* *R.S.V.P.*

"It is excellent that the Government have succeeded in their efforts to bring both Germany and Italy to a new Locarno Conference." Times, August 6.

Great Britain in the nick again has turned the saving trick again
With diplomatic brilliance famed in Foreign Office feats ;
Five peace-pledged Powers are able now to bargain round a table now
Where everybody shows his hand, and everybody cheats.

The Gallic and Britannic Powers, the Roman and Germanic Powers,
Trustees of peace, and bodyguard to Flander's pocket State
Will swap impressive homilies on regional anomalies
And cry for sacred treaties which are truly up-to-date.

Democracy's vicissitude claims democrats' solicitude,
But claims are out of order while new compromises pend ;
The French their Social labours crown by letting Spanish neighbours down—
Dictators are so coy to catch, so fatal to offend !

The British, quite invincible in all affairs of principle,
Forestalling an occurrence which already has occurred,
Present the torn Peninsula a front superbly insular,
Their rôle as freedom's champion expediently deferred !

With pandering persuasiveness pursuing shrewd evasiveness
Lawbreakers are solicited as guardians of the law ;
Fascisti must be mollified and Nazis not disqualified
So that the Men of Destiny may lead the men of straw.

So Belgium with full weight again they'll swear inviolate again
And mutually ratify their rock-ribbed guarantees . . .
When war's eventuality makes hay of her neutrality,
She'll count on hospitality for future refugees.

Now sternly warning Nemesis from Governmental premises
The European Concert reads its complicated score
With aptitude professional rehearsing their Recessional
The Stresa Three will harmonise with the Locarno Four.

Though heading for futurity in chronic insecurity,
The European system holds precariously intact,
But plighted cunning mending it can only end by ending it . . .
It might survive another War but not another Pact.

REYNARD.

FROM A GENEVA NOTEBOOK

by ULYSSES

(*Our Geneva Correspondent*)

A SUMMER calm has fallen upon Geneva. Most of the permanent representatives of the various Powers accredited to the League are on leave, as well as many of the higher officials of the Secretariat. And leave they certainly deserve when the task facing them is considered. Certainly at no point in the history of the League has the situation ever been more confused, more difficult. To see clearly requires the eyes of a super Foreign Secretary, or a super political journalist of a class quite outside those of whom Mr. Priestley thinks so little. Here are some general impressions.

First apprehensions : It is feared in Geneva, and the fear is a rising one, that the League's control over Danzig will disappear as soon as Herr Hitler has finished with the Olympic Games. This fear indeed may be a certainty by the time these lines are in print. The behaviour of the Council at its last meeting showed clearly enough that no one, Poland included, was prepared to take any action in regard to the preservation of the Free City's Constitution, though all have deplored and will deplore its *de facto* and *de jure* disappearance.

The Poles are quite definite about it. They always know on which side of the immediate slice their bread is buttered. It is the future slice about which they made their mistakes and which led in the past to their dismemberment. But their immediate future is secure enough where Danzig is concerned. France as an ally has become in Polish eyes a liability, not an asset. In the old days—I speak of the years immediately following the War—France treated her Polish ally with that haughty condescension which has so often exasperated the allies of France. True she armed her, but at Poland's expense and the bill on which only some early instalments have been paid, still weighs like lead on that country's finances. But now France has gone Left and is concerned with her own internal situation, her value in Polish eyes is nil. Poland fears Russia. Germany hates Russia. Fear and hate will form an alliance and Danzig will not be allowed to prove a stumbling block. That it is the weaker country which eventually pays the price in all these Pacts formed with stronger countries against

combinations of other countries is a lesson which Poland will have to learn, but for the present she does not realise this. Hitler will see that her essential interests in Danzig are not injured—for the moment. That's all she cares about.

The second apprehension is this : that the welcome fact that both Germany and Italy are prepared to talk about a new Locarno with the other Powers concerned may be neutralised by the events in Spain. By that I mean by the possibility that one or other of the " have-nots " will snatch the opportunity of pulling a big fish out of those troubled waters. Here again prophecy is difficult and events may prove or disprove these observations before they see the light of day. But as events stand at present, the success of the new Locarno depends on keeping the ring clear for the two parties in Spain to fight it out between themselves. In Geneva it is felt that as far as Italy is concerned, the danger of invasion is not very great. It is pointed out that Italy is now satisfied, perhaps surfeited, for Abyssinia may well prove to be a bit larger than she can chew. That being so, she is not going to risk any more. For who knows ? It is just possible that if you twist the lion's tail long enough and hard enough he may one day react.

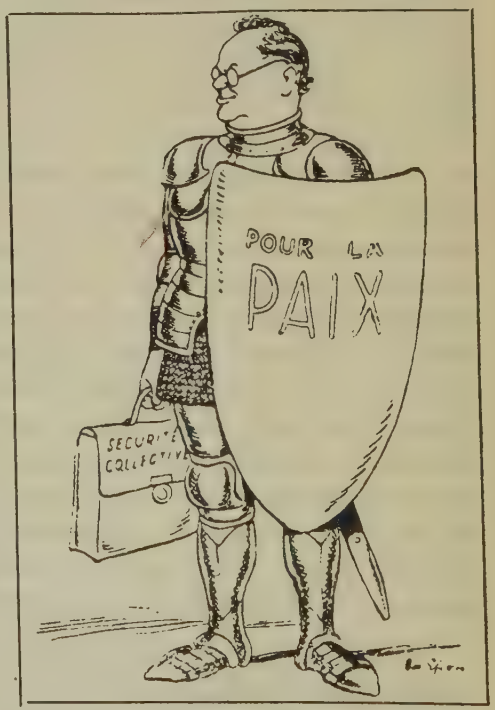
It is this feeling of surfeit which may prevent her from supporting too warmheartedly a Germany which is not yet surfeited. Here the danger is much greater, for Germany is still a " have-not." It can be summed up in three hackneyed words : Will Hitler move ? It depends, I think, very largely on how speeches like those of M. Jouhaux to the school teachers of France are interpreted on the other side of the Rhine. If by a Holy war M. Jouhaux means that the Left Fronts wherever they exist must immediately fly to the help of the *Frente Popular* in Spain, then Hitler may well judge the moment ripe to strike a decisive blow for Fascism. If M. Jouhaux and the other French leaders of the Left merely mean that the battle for Left ideas is being bloodily fought out in Spain, and that all good supporters of the Left outside that country must help with propaganda and moral support, but nothing more, then there may be no move.

Here then are the apprehensions of Geneva. There remain to be considered the prospects of a League reform. About that there is nothing to say this month. The intentions of the Great Powers are

unknown. It is not even known whether they have any intentions. Mr. Eden has borrowed Mr. Baldwin's silence. The longer that silence endures the greater the apprehension of the small States. I refer particularly to the Scandinavian countries. They were always close together, they are now drawing closer, and they are beginning to discuss very seriously what they can do in the event of the League's breaking down as on the face of it at any rate appears to them almost inevitable. If there is to be another World War, the chances of the Scandinavians surviving are very small unless they stand together; and herein lies their difficulty. Sweden and Norway form geographically a whole. Their position isolates them from the rest of Europe, and they are for all intents and purposes one nation. What, however, of Denmark and Finland? Stockholm and Oslo are discussing the problem of these two countries urgently at the moment. For there is a striking contrast between the very great security of the isolated Northern Peninsula and the very great insecurity of Finland and Denmark, each of them situated cheek by jowl with a powerful State which would inevitably be drawn into any world conflict.

On the whole it would appear that for strategic reasons, if for no others, Sweden is in favour of incorporating Denmark and Finland into a system of mutual defence. For the occupation either of Copenhagen or of the Finnish sea-board by a Power hostile to Sweden would be almost as serious as the occupation of Sweden itself. But there are two difficulties to the formation of this *bloc*. First, the antipathy between Norway and Denmark which is greater than is generally supposed in England. It is wrong to think for example that

A RUSSIAN VIEW OF M. LITVINOV



Bovis Efimov in "Le Journal de Moscou"

Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche

the Norwegian claim to Greenland has been abandoned in the minds of that people despite the sentence of the International Court in 1933. It is conceivably possible that Norway may demand the cession of Greenland as the price of allowing Denmark to enter the *bloc*.

The second difficulty is, however, more serious. Denmark possesses no army and virtually no navy. She would therefore have to be defended by the others. And at the moment they are not capable of assuring that defence. The degree, however, to which their faith in the League has been shaken, must be gauged by the fact that the Swedish Riksdag has voted credits for expenditure on armaments larger than any ever yet voted in the history of Sweden, and that in Denmark there is a large association of young men (Air Protection Society) to which all elements, especially the young intellectuals, belong in increasing numbers and who are being rapidly instructed twice a week in the difficult art of shooting down hostile aeroplanes. The conclusion seems to be that in any *bloc* of Nordic countries which may be formed, Sweden, will be a preponderating factor.

Will Britain Lead?

I mention these tendencies in the Northern States because I feel I must again emphasise what I said last month that now, if ever, has Britain an opportunity of showing those qualities of leadership which, despite the heartrending events of the last few years, she is still believed to possess. That belief, however, is growing thin. The present steps being taken by the Northern countries, admittedly amongst the most highly civilised in the world, are a warning, or rather perhaps a symptom that despair in this our present civilisation is beginning to get the upper hand.

It has been often said that the League depends ultimately on public opinion. It is a truism which causes a loud sigh to burst from the lips of the audience of any delegate or public speaker who wants to get a good platitude off his chest. Yet August is the month when above all others the truth of this truism can be perceived in Geneva. The town has many visitors. They do not stay in the town—that costs too much—but they pass through, and every day outside the new building of the League charabancs and private motor cars deposit no less than a thousand persons of all ages, and nationalities, though the French predominate in view of the proximity of their country. These visitors are shown over the League building by specially qualified

guides attached to the Secretariat. I joined a party of them a day or two ago and listened to a dispassionate and intelligent description of the building which, despite the length of time it has taken to erect and the internal difficulties with architects and surveyors, which I understand have been severe, is a very fine one. At the end of the visit I was taken to one of the new Committee rooms and shown a short film on the League. It lasted ten minutes and was merely a collection of pictures of the Council and the Assembly preceded by photographs of certain of the promotors of the League now mostly dead. Certain faces passed in silence, but when the face and figure of Aristide Briand appeared on the screen the whole room applauded, but was stricken with silence again when the guide observed : " This section was photographed when M. Briand made his speech in the Assembly saying that as long as he lived there would be no more war." " *Mais il est mort maintenant*," my neighbour whispered to me.

" 420," *Florence*

The European Question

THE GENERAL'S HAPPY THOUGHT

At one meeting, according to the story, General von Seeckt is said to have made what evidently was intended to be a comradely and complimentary speech. He said, in effect, that another war was inevitable, and that he only hoped that its survivors would be able to meet afterward in the same fraternal and harmonious spirit that " we survivors of the last war are demonstrating here."—*The New York Times.*

PUNISHMENT FITS THE CRIME

The latest method employed by the Police to keep the streets of Jerusalem free of nails has apparently been successful, for ever since Arab notables have been made to pick up the nails strewn in roadways, there has been a marked decrease in this field of activity.—*Palestine Post, Jerusalem.*

AN OPEN LETTER TO "ULYSSES"

From H. M. SWANWICK

DEAR ULYSSES—You puzzle me. You propound a heroic-seeming policy : Britain should in September, " boldly state that military sanctions are inevitable if peace is to be maintained, and suggest immediate steps to secure their application next time by everyone, great and small." You leave me wondering what hitherto unrevealed steps you have in mind. To Glendower's boast : " I can call spirits from the vasty deep," Hotspur replies : " But will they come when you do call ? "

What States do you include in your " everyone " ? Presumably the States still Members of the League. So the United States is out of it and Japan, to say nothing of the States of South America, which never were effectively in for sanctions' purposes. You admit that " France, for the moment, is out of it." But then, so is Spain. You further confuse the issue by adding a completely new recommendation ; that Britain should " deliberately throw down on behalf of the League the challenge to all those States who think, like Hitler, that democracy is immoral." Russia must also, then, and not for the moment only, be out of it. Or do you regard the U.S.S.R. as a democracy ? Does Stalin really believe in democracy ? And do you think that democracy can be established in a country by other countries waging war on it ?

It looks—unless the despised Blum can effect his desired neutrality—as if this Holy War of dictatorships versus democracies might actually find its first battlefields in Spain and its repercussions would shake the world. But it cannot have escaped you that, if this were to happen, it would finish the League, and the few remaining democracies would become dictatorships, whether of the Right or the Left.

Events have a disconcerting way of turning victories into dead-sea-fruit. President Wilson's war to make the world safe for democracy resulted in the establishment of a Left in place of a Right dictatorship in Russia ; in Poland, Yugoslavia and Italy, among the Allies, adopting dictatorships ; Germany, Turkey, Austria, Hungary among the Centrals ; Spain among the Neutrals. Your Crusade would result in a crop of dictatorships to end dictators.

You assert that " the united force of all countries who still believe

in democracy is amply sufficient to curb the dictators." What does this united force amount to ? Which are the democracies on which you can rely ? Besides the British Empire, there are the Scandinavians, Belgium and Holland ; Czechoslovakia must, I suppose, be reckoned a democracy, although her millions of disgruntled Germans would prove an obstacle ; Switzerland would not march and Greece would, as always, be a shaken reed. Not very formidable Allies for a Crusade against Germany and Italy, even supposing they were willing to be Crusaders.

No, it is clear that your talk about democracies is eyewash. You could not afford to refuse the support of Poland, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Russia, if they were offered ; and especially Russia—as in 1914—but a new Russia with a mechanised army of 1,300,000 men, plus another million of Marshal Voroshiloff's sharp-shooters and an immense air-force.

But even if selected dictatorships for ulterior purposes joined the crusading democracies, is it so certain that these would be victorious ? I mean, would Germany and Italy (because, behind your camouflage, they are the dictatorships and no others that you want to destroy) be conquered, *as States*, by your Holy Alliance of States, and should we not rather see many of the States on both sides broken to pieces internally, as Spain now is being broken ? Are you not far too prone to suppose that *all* the peoples in your two selected totalitarian States are groaning under their tyranny ? They are not. In Germany and in Italy, as in Russia, vast masses, especially of the young and active, find in the totalitarian State satisfaction for their needs and scope for their idealism and service ; while many of the dissatisfied in all these countries have been "liquidated."

Lastly, I would point out that Germany, the latest of a long file of post-war dictatorships, has not been guilty of a single act of aggression since the world war ; whereas among European States that have invaded the territories of their neighbours during that period are : Russia invading Poland ; Poland invading Russia, Lithuania and Galicia ; Britain invading Russia ; Rumania invading Hungary ; France and Belgium invading Germany ; Italy invading Greece and Abyssinia ; and they all got away with it too ! Germany has invaded none. Why, then, concentrate so much panic-mongering upon Germany ?

THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

EUROPE IN TWAIN—

The terrible tragedy of Spain's civil war threatens to divide all Europe into two camps, ranged according to their political theories and practices. Over the question of neutrality fierce dissension rages, with many voices counselling moderation. Here we give expressions of views taken from the main interested countries, and revealing typical aspects of the situation

THE TRUTH OF THE STRUGGLE

by FERNANDO DE LOS RIOS

(*formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Republic, and Professor of the University of Madrid*)

From "Humanité" (Communist), Paris

THE present political movement in Spain—commonly called civil war—has given rise in a large section of the Press to quite false judgments.

I believe this is due to wrong information about the nature of the conflict and of the contending forces.

One of the most surprising facts is the variety of political colouring among the forces supporting the Government.

Let us note first, that the Basque Nationalist Party, profoundly Catholic, Autonomist and Conservative, unconditionally supports the Government, and is fighting in the north of Spain shoulder to shoulder with its enemies of yesterday, the loyal forces of the Left.

If we examine the two "manifestoes of support" issued by the Spanish intellectuals we can see that from that quarter, too, support for the Government has not been lacking.

The greatest figure in Spanish academic life, the President of the Academy of Languages, Don Ramon Menendez Pidal, known as a Catholic and a Moderate, MM. Marichalar and Jose Bergamin, who represent in Spain the Catholic movement symbolised in the French review *Esprit*, Don Jose Ortega y Gasset, the most outstanding philosopher in Spain, Don Ramon Perez de Ayala, ex-ambassador of Spain in London, and Dr. Maranon who, in 1930, together with M. Ortega, launched the movement " For the Service of the Republic " —all have declared " their complete attachment to the Government and to the people who are so heroically defending the liberties of Spain."

Not one of the parties which collaborated in the establishment and development of the Republic is missing. Even the Progress Party, founded by the ex-President of the Republic, Don Niceto Alcala Zamora, and the National Republican Party, led by the eminent jurist and professor of the University of Madrid, Don Felipe Sanchez Roman, have come out on the side of the Government.

The following of the Government thus extends far beyond the framework of the Popular Front. Why then this insistent attempt to make the public believe that the Government is supported only by Communists and Socialists ?

Democracy at Stake

Obviously, the democracy which is taking shape in Spain will have a deeply social import, and may even give rise to a new economic structure in industry and agriculture. One should not forget that the Spanish agricultural system used to be mainly composed of collective communal properties, and that the present system—the cause of terrible poverty among the people—was introduced only in 1855.

The triumph of the political elements attached to the Government will mean the strengthening of West-European democracy, and of the cultural values which that democracy contains. If one analyses the composition of the Spanish Popular Front one finds that it includes without exception all the elements which defended the cause of the Allies in the Great War.

Ranged against them are those who, for political and psychological reasons, gave support to the military Empires of Central Europe and who today sympathise with the totalitarian regimes.

Let us not blind ourselves to the clear issues before us. If ill-fate were to decree that victory go to the insurgents, the political situation of West Africa (because of the Canaries), that of the Straits (because of Ceuta and Melilla), even that of the whole western Mediterranean (because of the significance of the Balearic Islands) would be changed.

As those three points are of vital importance to the two Great Western Powers, France and England, the whole European problem would be affected. It is unnecessary to insist on the gravity which the fact that natives are being armed in Morocco will assume quite soon for countries with important interests in Africa. Natives are being armed and sent over to the peninsula to fight against Europeans.

Neither I myself, nor any others who share my profound attachment for France, wish for France, or any Power, to intervene in the drama which is now unfolding in our country. But there is one thing I would like to point out to all Frenchmen: Do not forget that, for both legal and political reasons, there is only one legitimate government in Spain, and behind it is arrayed every single social force which stands for constitutional legality.

RED FRANCE

by PIERRE GAXOTTE

From "Candide," Paris

M. Léon Blum, the head of France's Popular Front Government, led the way in making earnest efforts to obtain a combined declaration of neutrality from the Powers. In this and the following article we read the kind of attacks to which he was subjected—from the Right before taking his decision on neutrality, and from Communists after doing so

ONE thing at least is certain. The *Front Populaire* government had made complete preparations for arming the Spanish Communists. Blum, Moch and Cot had promised them gas bombs, rifles, machine guns, artillery and aircraft. They were to supply them even with pilots, at a rate of thirty thousand francs a head.

M. Delbos issued a statement to the Press disclaiming respon-

sibility. His resignation would have been more to the point.

* * *

If France and the *Front Populaire* are burning to arm the Spanish Communists, London, Berlin, Rome and Brussels must ask themselves whether France might not be as ready to arm the British, German, Italian and Belgian Communists. It is becoming clear that France is governed no longer in French interests but in those of a *Front Populaire* kind of solidarity, that extends all over the place and menaces the very existence of States not federated with Moscow.

If there is a *Front Populaire* solidarity in Paris why should there not be also a Fascist solidarity in Berlin and Rome, and a Conservative solidarity in London and Tokio ? Why should not London, Berlin and Rome, following the example of the Parisian *Front Populaire*, send aircraft, arms and airmen to the partisans of *their* choice ?

To the Civil war there would then be added, in the Spanish arena, an Anglo-French, Franco-German or Franco-Italian war ! Two German battleships are on their way to Barcelona where they will unfurl the black swastika before the noses of the anarchists in the port. British cruisers are at Gibraltar, Italian cruisers at Malaga and Barcelona. If foreigners are killed in Spain must it be with French bullets ?

France of the *Front Populaire* has as neighbours Fascist Italy, with forty-two million inhabitants, and Hitlerite Germany, with seventy millions. The frenzied youth who holds for the moment the portfolio for Air should know that it is imprudent to light torches in a store full of explosive, unless he wishes to produce an explosion. Do Blum, Moch and Cot want war ? Have Blum, Moch and Cot been delegated by Moscow to lead the *Front Populaire* only in order to provoke war ?

Friendless France

Yes, Moscow wants war.

Yes, the *Front Populaire* wants war.

The Soviets, in fact, are doomed to be strangled in the Japano-German vice unless they provoke soon a west-European war that will free their frontiers and plunge Europe into a quagmire of blood.

Those truths are perhaps hidden from the French public. Everywhere else they are commonplaces. For myself, although one is

tempted to fly to a less weak-kneed country, I do not want to leave France ; it is too humiliating to have to appear abroad as a subject of Blum, too painful to suffer the commiserating looks of well-informed foreigners. It is enough for me to read the newspapers and listen to the wireless : mortal hatred is gathering around our country.

If it is not, as yet, expressed by brutal acts, that is because prudent politicians keep in mind the possibility of a change of regime in Paris. With those devils, the French, one never knows ! They have put us under observation for a few months, equally ready to show us a smiling face, if the *Front Populaire* is swept out of office or to finish us off if putrefaction carries the day.

When France was free she found allies. In the shadow of Moscow she can find none. No one wants to be tied to a chain of which Stalin pulls one end. Disquietened by the Soviet war-mania, Belgium unanimously demands a policy of neutrality. The Little Entente is disintegrating. Even for Danzig Poland refuses to engage herself against Germany. Hitler and Mussolini are burying their grievances. Austria and Hungary are joining the Fascist bloc. Turkey is retreating from the Soviets. Serbia is turning towards Germany. Rumania is hesitating. England refuses to give us, with regard to the Rhine, an unequivocal guarantee, because to reassure the France of the *Front Populaire* would be to give at the same time a free field to the policy

" Le Canard Enchainé,"

" No doubt, with the excellent moral encouragement which your governments are giving us, we shall get somewhere."

Paris

" Good news from Spain ? "
" How can I know ? You haven't even got a Party badge on ! "

of Communist provocation. There remains Czechoslovakia—the Czechoslovakia which in 1920 forbade the passage of munitions for our allies of Warsaw. There remain the Soviets who betrayed us in 1917 and who, in 1936, organised the uprising of our colonies. The Soviets whose friendship besmirches and kills.

BLUM'S BETRAYAL

by HERMANN BUDZISLAWSKI

From "Die Neue Weltbühne" (Left), Prague

A SERVANT has set my house on fire. My neighbour is a good friend, but he won't lend me his extinguisher. He wants to be neutral in this affair, otherwise other neighbours might, for the sake of fairness, be tempted to help out the incendiary servant with a can or two of petrol. Has my friend and neighbour taken leave of his wits?

The French government has succeeded, thanks to its oh, so well-meaning pronouncements, in thoroughly obscuring a perfectly clear issue. If Italy and Germany support the rebellious Spanish officers, then one must protest, perhaps even intervene. It would be an unfriendly act, an unprovoked and hostile action against a legally established European government which could appeal to the League of Nations against such a disregard of its sovereignty.

In asserting its neutrality in a matter in which neither considerations of foreign policy nor dictates of international law compel neutrality, the French Government has, *de facto* if not *de jure*, acknowledged the rebelling generals as a sovereign power. Léon Blum has the right to supply munitions and aircraft to the Madrid Government. Mussolini and Hitler have not by any means the right to arm General Franco. To demonstrate to the fascists, by a painfully correct attitude and by withholding ordinary friendly help, that good Socialists can refrain from exercising their rights (even without counter-concessions, for the intervention of Italy is juridicially inadmissable and therefore no equivalent); that is a noble, well-meant, effective, but sadly naive thing to do.

* * *

These are the facts: with the help of foreign powers Spanish generals prepared a *Putsch*. Months ago the Spanish Government

ordered war material in France and now calls for its delivery. Their Paris ambassador conspires with the generals and stabs his own Government in the back by alarming the French Right Press. The mutinying ambassador is dismissed, but his object has been attained: the French Government stops the export of munitions, legally ordered and properly paid for.

Meanwhile, Italy and Germany are supplying the rebels. They might have offered to stop their secret but undeniable traffic if France had sent war material to the Spanish Government. But now? What is there to induce Italy to stop?

* * *

Franco or freedom—that applies not only to France but to all Europe. Why does France deny herself the natural, perfectly legal, and very remunerative satisfaction of helping a friendly Power? The war material industries have so far never hesitated to supply goods to any buyer. In the Great War guns from the same source were fired on both sides. Since the war Sir Basil Zaharoff has made de-

"Je Suis Partout," Paris

RED TERROR NEARS FRANCE
"Forward! There are no more Pyrenees!"

liveries to friend and foe. Diplomatists were his agents. In China the armament firms of all countries pocketed money alternately, or simultaneously, from Canton and Nanking, Manchukuo and Chiang-kai-shek. Though not from the Red Army, which had no money and had to get its arms by conquest.

In the last years of the Weimar Republic foreign armament manufacturers subsidised the National-Socialist Movement, and that proved a good investment ; since Hitler's advent the armament industry is flourishing everywhere. In the autumn of 1934 an American commission of enquiry disclosed to the world, which already knew it well, that the morals of armament kings do not restrain them from providing for human mortality in any centre of rebellion throughout the whole of this sadly divided world.

Suddenly these same statesmen, so often arraigned for gun-running, have become bluffly moral ; and they find, for the first time in our history, ready listeners to their ethical arguments ; the French ministers of the *Front Populaire* would rather betray their Spanish colleagues and their own country than stand accused of a sin that is no sin at all. All countries sell arms ; the Great Powers are in the habit of getting rid of their obsolete arms to the smaller Powers at bargain prices. Slightly soiled, and therefore cheap.

Why then does the French Government, which has a lot to lose in the matter, allow itself to be done out of its ordinary rights ? Because it fears foreign complications. It fears war, compromises with the bellicose Powers, says nothing more about Germany's broken treaties, skates skilfully over the thin ice of the occupation of the Rhineland, and forgoes its just rights in the Spanish conflict.

WHERE REAL INTERESTS LIE

by JULES SAUERWEIN

From the "Prager Presse," Prague

This distinguished French journalist, diplomatic correspondent of "Le Matin," takes a practical view of the alignment of interests.

THE Powers have now taken up their positions in the Spanish conflict, and in my opinion the danger of international complications is not very great. There are two factors at work in the relations

of Spain with the Powers: national position and doctrine. For in this sorry age the similarities, or the so-called similarities, in political faiths play an increasingly perverted role. They are undermining the basic principles of the sound foreign policy the kings of France pursued when they allied themselves with Turkey, or the Third Republic when it allied itself with the Czar. Unless things change it will come to pass that Europe will be divided into two camps, and the dramas of the Thirty Years' War will be re-enacted in a much more terrible form even than before.

Consider first the doctrinal factor. It tends to range Italy and Germany on the side of the Generals, and France and Russia on the side of the Popular Front, while England, with little liking for political similarities, might well sit comfortably on the fence.

But closer consideration shows the defects of such an arrangement. To begin with, Spain is a country with a political nomenclature differing from that of the rest of Europe. The extreme Left in France rests on the parties of the workers and unions. But in Spain the main strength of the extreme Left resides in the anarchist Confederation, which has a programme reminiscent of the doctrines of the Russian nihilists before the war.

The fascists in Spain are supporters of national conservatism, and of the dictatorship of the Generals under the authority of the Church. Therein lies the wide difference between Spanish fascism and the fascism and national-socialism of Italy and Germany.

But, it may be argued, there is now in Spain also a violent con-

"Marianne," Paris

THE WIRELESS WAR

"Hostilities are suspended! Radio-Seville has broken down!"

SEDITION

"The rebels continue to revolt against the insurgents!"

PRESS REPORTS

"Who have won?"
"The Spanish!"

flict between two social conceptions. Certainly, but those conceptions differ from those in conflict in other parts of Europe; and liberalism, which we others esteem highly, can arouse little interest in a country which, like Russia, has no middle-class.

I will not base my views on intervention on the question of supply of war material, because for certain suppliers the Portuguese frontier, which it is impossible to supervise, provides a splendid channel of communication. No, I would sooner apply a little common sense to considering the interests of the various Powers concerned.

France's interest in the matter is vital. We have never, it is true, been able to conclude with any Spanish government a treaty providing for the passage of French troops to and from Africa, through Spain, in the event of a European conflict. But we had the certitude, throughout the various regimes, that the connection between Europe and Africa would not be held by hostile forces.

Vital Strategic Interests

When the Italo-Spanish treaty was under discussion in 1926, and there was talk of Italy's acquiring a naval base in the Balearic Isles, we made representations to Primo de Rivera and the negotiations were dropped. If there is one vital and absolute necessity for France it is a free connection between the motherland and the African Colonies.

Our interest coincides with that of England, except that for England the vital trajectory through the Mediterranean runs lengthwise and not across. England holds Gibraltar, she has safeguarded Tangier by an International Statute, and Ceuta, a little to the East, is in the hands of Spain, about which England has so far had no reason to be either suspicious or disturbed.

A little farther still is France; England's ally. England has had worries in the Eastern Mediterranean. She holds the exit there; she does not want to lose the entrance.

Here are questions of sound common sense, and not of fanciful combinations. Two Powers which have common and vital interests join hands and give their confidence to any Spanish government that offers them satisfactory guarantees.

I do not believe Italy will adopt a hostile attitude. It would be very unwise to threaten the vital interests of France and England.

That Germany might support Italy is unlikely. Germany believes

Italy is already in a large measure on her side ; and, on the other hand, it is from England rather than from Italy that Germany expects to get economic and colonial concessions. From London, Germany hopes to get credits, South-East Africa, Togo and possibly the Cameroons ; and concessions of that magnitude cannot be extracted peacefully if she plays Italy's game against England in the Eastern Mediterranean.

THOSE WHO LOVE SPAIN

by FRANÇOIS MAURIAC

(*Member of the Académie Française*)

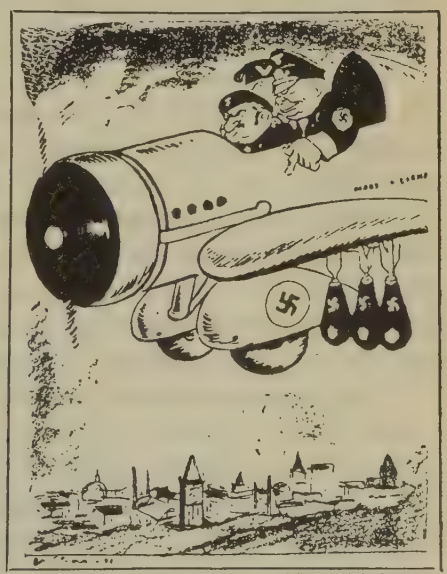
From "Figaro," Paris

WE who were born between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, we who nearly all have Spanish blood in our veins and whose childhood speech was a *patois* transfused with Spanish, cannot resign ourselves to the thought of our brothers beyond the mountains being shot down with French bullets.

When I say our brothers I am thinking not only of fascists, of royalists. Our horror would be the same if France were to furnish aircraft and machine-guns to a dictator at grips with the working masses.

Last night at the sight of a photograph of two boys of Barcelona sprawling with their faces to the paving-stones, we felt a surge of tears, without even wanting to know whether they were republicans or rebels. But how much deeper would have been our distress and our shame if some Spanish friend had had the right to say : "Those two children are perhaps the victims of M. Blum."

If it were proven that our ministers were collaborating actively



"Journal de Moscou"

FASCISTS OVER EUROPE

in the Spanish massacre, we would know that France was governed not by statesmen but by brigand chiefs at the beck and call of what one can only call " the Internationale of Hatred." We would know that the President of the Council of today had forgotten nothing of the secular rancour that gnawed the vitals of the partisan Léon Blum.

We do not want a single drop of Spanish blood to be shed by the fault of France. Spain is indivisible in our hearts ; the Spain of the Cid, of St. Theresa, of St. John of the Cross, of Columbus and Cervantes, of Greco and Goya.

KEEP CLEAR!

by EMMANUEL BERL

From " Marianne," Paris

AMONG the contradictory news items that chase each other through our Press there is only one certainty—the dead bodies whose photographs sprawl across the pages.

Pacifists, beware of war. Frenchmen, have a care for France ! The south-west wind is rising, the wind of the Pyrenees—the wind that touches us with madness. Already our passions are wrestling with our compassion. But we have vital interests at stake ; we must think above all else of France.

Those interests are clear.

They demand firstly, that we should be protected against Spanish contagion. Anarchy is always contagious, and spilt blood calls for more blood.

Secondly, they demand protection for our countrymen in Spain. The French colony in Spain is large. There are thirty thousand Frenchmen in Barcelona alone. We have invested thousands of millions in Spain. Our Government must make sure that the Spanish tragedy does not become for France a new factor of impoverishment.

Our interests require also that we should watch with care over the security of Morocco. Dissention in the Rif must be avoided. Our memory is short ; but we cannot have forgotten Abd el Krim !

Lastly, our interests demand that the " Spanish Question " be not opened again, and that Spain shall not become a breeding place of war—a cockpit in which to fight out the rivalries between the " democratic " countries and the " autocracies." The Germans have declared

that Hitlerite nazi-ism, and the French, that anti-fascism, are not articles of export. Let everyone keep to that wisdom !

Only one thing is certain : that sooner or later the Spanish people will come together again and will hate the foreigners in proportion to the share those foreigners have taken in the fratricidal agonies of Spain.

A LAST CHANCE

From the "Berliner Tageblatt," Berlin

THAT the masses in Spain will ever again willingly hand over their weapons, either to friend or foe, is more than improbable. We believe that this means an end for a long time to come to the efforts to maintain the Republic.

From the very beginning the so-called People's Front Government under the spiritual guidance of Azana showed itself too weak to withstand the pressure and open terrorism of its radical comrades of election time. It is always a mistake to have to rely on the support of such friends who refuse to assume personal responsibility, *i.e.*, in this case, to enter the Government. Possibly this may prove to be France's experience too, but we should avoid drawing premature comparisons between that highly developed political country and the five-year-old Spanish Republic.

Lenin's prophecy, that Spain would be, after Russia, the next Soviet State, had a very concrete basis, *inter alia* in the fact that over 43 per cent. of the population was at that time illiterate. That state of affairs has altered in the meantime, but Moscow has not changed its plans with regard to Spain and world revolution. Five months of government by the People's Front have been sufficient to bring about that condition of "political confusion" which Lenin taught was the necessary preliminary to "extreme action by the masses." Scholars of revolution trained in Moscow have done their work quickly and well . . .

Now the question is, for which side will the Spanish people decide ? For this civil war is one in which there are only two Fronts.

The insurgents' watchword is : "For a free Spain, and against Moscow." It is, so it seems to us, a last chance to escape the danger of mastery by the Marxian parties, which have been creeping ahead

since the February elections; and which have become more threatening than ever since the revolt, owing to the Government's measures. That will be grasped by all those who voted in February for the parties of the Right—and they amounted to a few hundred votes more than fifty per cent.

But now a number of disappointed Republicans will go over to the side of the Right, for the insurgents' aim is not—as General Franco has again declared—the restoration of monarchy or a military dictatorship, but the maintenance of the Republic under a government from which, however, the Marxian parties would be excluded as "inimical to the State." In this connection it must remain an open question whether it will be possible to bridge the present gulf with the swaying bridge of a parliamentary system.

On the other hand, a victory of such a Left government as is now sitting in Madrid would mean a danger that Spain would fall victim to fresh spasms, with serious effects on other European States afflicted with the same division of forces and similar ideas—in which connection it may be remarked that so far the anarcho-syndicalist section of Spanish radicals far outnumber the groups which follow Moscow. Nevertheless Caballero, the leader of the Left, is spiritually in the power of intellectuals who have strong sympathies with Moscow.

AN INTERNATIONAL BATTLE

From "The Moscow Daily News"

THE struggle which has broken out in Spain is of enormous international significance. As the International Committee Against War and Fascism stated in its telegram to the Spanish government, this heroic struggle is part of the international battle against the criminal forces of fascism and war. Millions of men and women throughout the world are in sympathy with the Spanish people.

The victory of the fascist insurgents would serve as a signal for new fascist attacks on the working-class and on democracy all over Europe. But the victory of the People's Front over the insurgents in Spain will serve as a serious blow to world fascism, the incendiary of war.

The People's Front has distributed over 150,000 rifles and revolvers

among the workers. The arming of the workers will be of enormous effect in the further development of events.

ENGLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY TO DEMOCRACY

From the "Nationalzeitung," Basle

Switzerland, as one of Europe's remaining democracies, is watching the struggle with anxious eyes, and looks to England for a lead

THAT the French Popular Front does not favour the idea of having another fascist neighbour in the South, is understandable; that they should get excited at learning of Italy's active participation in the Spanish revolution against the Government, is equally understandable. It may lead, as answer to France's actively participating on the side of the Spanish Government. Then the situation is at hand which England fears so much—although it must inevitably come some time in the future—*i.e.*, a Europe torn asunder into two blocks, with diametrically opposed internal political systems. This situation would signify the same violent division of the coming Five Power (Locarno) Conference.

The fall of European democracies depends upon which side England comes down. England's great hour will come, in which she must at last say yes or no. If she once again fails to define her position, the democracies will be faced by the destructive alternative of being devoured by fascism or allowing themselves to be helped by Russia. The latter would mean the cooperation in Europe of an equally proselytising communism. The more democratic Russian communism becomes (and it is becoming very much more so), the greater will be the political importance of the return of Russia as a Great Power to Europe. Perhaps this would be preferable to the uncompromising one-sidedness of fascism.

The Spanish situation shows how necessary it is that the few remaining democracies in Europe shall take in hand their own internal cure. We see how fatal it is when a democratic government in a despairing struggle against fascist officers, has to take refuge in arming sections of the populace, who will inevitably present their un-

pleasantly high political bill as soon as they have saved the country. A healthy democracy does not need such helpers. There is no need for a healthy democracy to abuse or fight fascism in other countries ; but it should nip fascism in the bud in its own country while there was still time ; and it should see to it that bad government and sectional profit-seeking selfishness did not prepare the ground for slogans which drive hordes of disappointed men into becoming followers of any anti-democratic theory.

CRUSADERS—ANCIENT AND MODERN

From "Il Popolo d'Italia," Milan

THE Foreign Minister of a certain country said recently in the course of an important speech : "As we do not wish to run the risk of war, we do not desire to interfere in the internal affairs of any country. We must not undertake a crusade for ideals as that would inevitably lead to a European conflict . . ."

The heroic crusades of the Middle Ages were of the greatest historic importance and were international undertakings from the modern point of view. Their psychological motives were religious and inspired the mass of the people with the enthusiasm needed to carry out such tremendous enterprises. They were undertaken not only to free Christian civilisation from the menace of the east as represented by the Arabs, but also, and perhaps primarily, to free the Holy Land. As they were fought by fallible men with all the passions and weaknesses of humanity other motives triumphed in the end over religion and idealism. We see the old story of "trade following the flag." The Second, Third and Fourth Crusades degenerated gradually into political and economic struggles between the different States.

The conflict between East and West, not only in ideals and spiritual values, but in its effect on the relations between European States, is older than the Crusades. This conflict was recognised and analysed by Josephus, by the Emperor Titus, and by Paul of Tarsus, and still affects the Europe of today.

If that Crusade of which the foreign Minister spoke is a Crusade

not of the Cross but of the Sickle and Hammer, it is tainted with a defect which is at once new and contradictory, for it is directed from East to West. The West threatened by this modern crusade must oppose it not merely for the historical reason of defending the honour and tradition of the medieval Crusades, but for the weightier and more pressing needs of preserving civilisation.

If this Crusade has its origins in Moscow it will come by way of Prague and Bucarest to Paris, and via Athens to Madrid, and will spread its tentacles out to strangle the splendid and historic tradition of Europe.

There is of course no likelihood of its success; these modern crusades will come face to face with the invincible, eternal, ancient and reborn might of Rome.

DICTATORSHIP IN GREECE

From "Proia," Athens

OWING to a perhaps too strict censorship, reports spread abroad about the so-called "dictatorial" measures in Greece are certainly exaggerated. The workers in Greece are not really revolutionary but have been for some time incited against legal agreements by foreign agents financed by foreign Communist funds. This needed careful handling, and with a general strike threatening, the Government had no choice but to take firm action, which was welcomed by most classes of the population.

The Government had in fact shown too much goodwill towards the workers' organisation. There was a definite tendency to improve standards of living and results in this direction are very satisfactory. But the workers in Greece, not having behind them the tradition and discipline of old-established trade-unionism, have keyed up their demands to a degree which could have easily become dangerous to other sections of the population.

One must not forget that the King personally contributed to the consolidation of the situation by avoiding the terrible effects a general strike would have had on Greek commercial life. It is certainly not true that any actions of the Government have affected the internal situation. On the contrary, commerce and industry are undisturbed

and visitors to Athens and other cities see absolutely no change at all, but calm, industrious people who take little notice of Communist agitation.

Premier Metaxas defined the situation clearly when he appealed to the people, telling them that they must " co-operate because of the danger to the social order in Greece which was threatened by a civil war following the menaces of the Communists."

" We take the entire responsibility on ourselves for what happened," he said. " You have not lost your liberty," he told the Greek people. " I am appealing particularly to the Greek youth. You will only find yourselves in the Hellenic fatherland. You cannot live without your Hellenic traditions and ideals. The foreign teachings with which foreign agents want to poison you are a tissue of lies. You will only be happy with the spirit of your own race. Throw away the bad books which teach you bad morals and cowardice ! "

SOVIET RUSSIA'S SYMPATHY

Deepest sympathy to the people of Spain and indignation at the havoc wrought by the Fascists in their attempts to overthrow the democratic republic have been expressed at numerous meetings held at the plants of Leningrad, Moscow, and other cities. As concrete expressions of their sympathy, funds were contributed by the workers, to be sent to Spain for the fight against the Fascists and militarists.

The workers of the Proletarsky Trud Plant in Moscow send hearty greetings to the heroic people of Spain " who are fighting against the monarchists, Fascists insurgents, for the victory of the Peoples Front. . . . With the entire international proletariat, we are following your struggle, and take joy in each victory of the armed people against the Fascist insurgents."—*Moscow Daily News.*

A MODERATING INFLUENCE ?

Developments in Spain, and particularly the recent reaction against the excesses of the Left, cannot fail to influence extremists in other countries. They are a reminder that the public itself can find the power to oppose violence that endangers its life. It seems that the actions of the Spanish extremists have already had an influence on France, which also has a " national front " government in which communism is represented. Up to the time of the Spanish Insurrection French communists were boldly propagating revolution. Now, as we read in their own newspapers, they are appealing for moderation and restraint.—*Mir, Sofia.*

BLESSED BE THE BOLSHEVIKS

If no new war has yet broken out, this is chiefly because Soviet Russia exists—the great land of peace, the hope and protection of a suffering world.—*Pravda, Moscow.*

ITALY'S MEDITERRANEAN STRONGHOLDS

From the Rome correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse," Vienna

In WORLD REVIEW *last month Admiral Usborne surveyed Britain's position in the Mediterranean. Here a well-informed writer shows the steps Italy has taken to counter-balance our power*

A SLOGAN of the nineteenth century called Italy "the great prisoner of the Mediterranean." This description has now more significance than ever before. The Mediterranean is for Italy not only the most important means of access to the rest of the world, but quite simply a vital necessity. Equally, it is the possible line of approach for danger.

Almost all the important routes by which Italy is supplied with necessary raw materials run through this sea basin, including now the connection with Italy's new colonial empire; and four-fifths of the total Italian frontier are washed by Mediterranean waters.

What significance this last fact may assume in Italian foreign policy was shown at the outbreak of the World War; it was recognition of the difficulty of defending so vast a coastline against the attack of strong enemy fleets that was an important influence in Italy's decision to join the Allies.

Italy's dependence on the Powers commanding the entrances to the Mediterranean had become such an established factor in international politics, that the idea of Italy's ever opposing any decision made in London or Paris, was outside the bounds of political discussion. The Abyssinian conflict, in which such a development actually took place, signified therefore a change, the consequences of which will only gradually become clear.

The concrete foundations of this new attitude towards the world on the part of Italy, apart from her increase in fighting strength on land, air and water, consist of a number of very important naval measures. For instance, the island of Pantelleria, which lies almost exactly between Sicily and the northern coast of Africa, has been developed into an important base for the Italian fleet. This base is, according to experts, in no way inferior to Malta and from a strategic point of view, even

superior, commanding as it does the Straits between Tunis and Sicily. Italy from this base could successfully attempt to cut off the western from the eastern Mediterranean.

Furthermore, Italy commands the entrance to the Adriatic, through her friendly relations with Albania. Finally, in the eastern Mediterranean her naval bases in the Dodecanese give Italy far-reaching control over the entrance to the Black Sea, whilst the newly developed north African military base of Tobruk, in cooperation with Italian squadrons which would be concentrated in the Aegean Sea, go far towards assuring her connections with the Near East, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Since January, 1935, in addition, Italy possesses a strategic point in the Red Sea, which makes it possible for her at any time to cut off the Indian and Australian Oceans. The island of Dumeirah, the naval base handed over to Italy at that date by France, therefore almost represents a counterbalance to the English position on the Suez Canal.

Summing these items up, it may be recognised that Italy has quietly worked out a system of defence which compensates in a comparatively high degree for the fact that all direct entrances to the Mediterranean are in foreign hands.

Italy is Watching

It is with all the greater interest, however, that developments in Spain are being followed. The *Azione Coloniale*, the journal which is often used as the organ of the Colonial Ministry, has been going closely into the matter, particularly into the problem of the Statute of Tangiers. The paper concludes with a reminder that in 1927 an Italian squadron appeared at Tangiers, in order to remind the Powers who shared the administration of this international zone of the existence and rights of Italy. Apart from this clear warning, the despatch of Italian warships to Spanish waters shows that Italy is just as decided as France and England to defend her interests under all circumstances.

Everything else, however, reported abroad about Italian interest in the Spanish events, is repudiated in Rome emphatically and almost bitterly as tendentious propaganda. Italy is in any case decided to remain completely neutral as long as possible. This is evidenced by the reports in the Italian Press, which, in spite of the great sympathy

felt here for General Franco's revolt, never go so far as to take any definite attitude, and confine themselves to exposing foreign support of the Left Government.

Naturally, people in Italy well remember the favourable course taken by Italo-Spanish relations during the Right Government of Primo de Rivera, which was used by the Italian Admiralty to extend Italy's naval interests in the Western Mediterranean ; while *vice versa*, it is not forgotten that since 1931, when the Left seized power, Italo-Spanish relations have been becoming continuously cooler. Italy has at least a negative interest in this sector of Europe, and would seek to prevent any disturbance in the *status quo* in north Africa, but is far from intending any expansion in that direction. She requires peace, in order to carry on her gigantic social and colonial experiment in Abyssinia effectively. She, therefore, sincerely wishes to see all possible discord in Europe avoided, and, particularly, to clear up her relations with England.

Certainly, Italy will insist upon recognition of her position of power, and that her security system in the Mediterranean does not run the danger of being trumped by any far-reaching measures from other quarters. The Spanish storm is, therefore, not being regarded in Italy as a welcome opportunity for fishing in troubled waters, but rather as a regrettable disturbance on a horizon which had been so threateningly clouded and was just beginning to clear.

GORGONZOLA AT THE CHEMISTS

SANCTIONS irritated a lot of people, but nobody more than the Peruvians. The fact is, the Peruvians love gorgonzola and parmesan and the populace was far from pleased at not being able to eat Italian cheese.

Do you know what was done ?

The Peruvian Government solemnly declared that gorgonzola and parmesan were—chemical products. So then they could be bought, at the chemists.—*La République, Paris.*

"EXCEPT"

MUSSOLINI says he has restored the Roman Empire, except, of course, the insignificant parts of it occupied by Great Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Austria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Arabia, Albania, Egypt, the French and Spanish coast colonies of North Africa and a few miscellaneous fragments that will be hard to piece together.—*Louisville Courier-Journal, U.S.A.*

IN ABYSSINIA TO-DAY

The following paragraphs were taken from various reports in the Italian Press of "pacification" in Ethiopia

THERE was a great outburst of enthusiasm in Harrar when Ras Hailù expressed his wish to speak. This influential Ras, who is a member of the Royal family, addressed the crowd in the following words :—

"People of Ethiopia, you have seen the might of the Italian army. If Italy had wished, she could have destroyed us, but fortunately she did not come to do that ; instead she came to help us to live, to prosper, to become great.

"In the name of God, who is looking down on me, I invite my fellow citizens to greet powerful and just Italy with friendship, to hand in their arms trusting in her generosity. With the help of Italy our country will become rich, strong and important. All those who really love Ethiopia will rally round the Italians who, with the blessing of Divine Providence, have come to Addis Ababa to wipe out the injustices, the crimes and the inefficiencies of the former government and to lead Ethiopia forward into a new era of happiness."

* * *

The following telegram has been sent to Signor Mussolini by the Arab colony at Addis Ababa :—

"Having read the articles in Arabic in the *Giornale di Addis Ababa*, the members of the Yamenite Mussulman Arab community of the capital of Italy's African Empire, grateful for what has been and will be done for them, desire to express to your Excellency their devoted loyalty."

* * *

During the religious ceremonies connected with the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the Abuna Kirillos made a speech to the leading Coptic Chiefs and some thousands of the faithful.

He praised the Italian Government, which had been sent by God to bring peace and prosperity to Ethiopia. He exhorted the people not to kill each other. Instead of waging civil war they should be caring for their houses, their possessions and their families. It was useless to oppose the will of God ; everything which had happened in Abyssinia had been part of the Divine purpose.

AMERICANISMS: HOW THEY CAME

by H. L. MENCKEN

From "The Yale Review," New Haven, U.S.A.

In the verbal, as in commercial, balance of trade, England complains of too heavy imports from the other side of the Atlantic, while France deplores declining exports

THE first Englishman to notice an Americanism sneered at it aloofly, thus setting a fashion that many of his countrymen have been following ever since. He was one Francis Moore, a ruffian who came to Georgia in 1735, and the word that upset him was "bluff," in the sense of "a cliff or headland with a broad precipitous face." He did not deign to argue against it; he simply dismissed it as "barbarous," and for nearly a century, when it was printed at all in Great Britain, it was set off by sanitary quotation marks. But, in 1830, the eminent Sir Charles Lyell used it shamelessly and from that day to this it has been a respectable if somewhat unfamiliar word in England.

Its history is the history of almost countless other Americanisms. They have been edging their way into English since early colonial times, but only after running a gauntlet of opposition. After the Revolution, that opposition took on the proportions of a holy war. Never an American book came out that the English reviewers did not belabour its vocabulary violently. Even serious writers like Jefferson, John Marshall, Noah Webster, and John Quincy Adams got their share. Jefferson's crime was that he had invented the verb "to belittle."

It was, one may argue plausibly, a very logical, useful, and perhaps even nifty word, and seventy-five years later the prissy Anthony Trollope was employing it without apology. But in 1787 the *London Review* roared: "What an expression! It may be an elegant one in Virginia, but all we can do is to *guess* at its meaning. For shame, Mr. Jefferson! Freely we forgive your attacks upon our national character; but for the future spare, we beseech you, our mother tongue!"

The underscoring of "guess" was a fling in passing at another foul Americanism. It was the belief of most Englishmen then, as it

is today, that the use of the verb in the sense of " to suppose " or " assume " originated in this country. It is actually to be found, in that meaning precisely, in *Measure for Measure*, nay, in Chaucer.

" To advocate " offers another example. It appeared in English in the dark abysm of time, but during the eighteenth century it seems to have dropped out of general use. Toward the end of the century it came into vogue in this country, and soon made its way back to the land of its birth. It was received with all the honours proper to an invasion of Asiatic cholera, the reviews denouncing it as loutish, " Gothic," and against God.

The heroic struggle to keep Americanisms out of Britain still flourishes. A few years ago the Assistant Bishop of Guildford and Archdeacon of Dorking was charged before the Farnham (Surrey) magistrates with applying " speed-cop " to a member of the " mobile police."

His Lordship denied with some heat that he had used the term, or anything else so unseemly, but the magistrates apparently concluded that he must have let it slip, for they took a serious view of his very modest adventure in speeding, fined him £10, and suspended his driving licence for three months.

Who Got the First Goat?

Whenever an Americanism comes publicly into question in England, there are efforts to track down its etymology, with results that are sometimes extremely bizarre. In January, 1935, for example, the London *Morning Post* opened its columns to a furious discussion of the verb-phrase, " to get his goat." I content myself with one of the explanations : " Among the Negroes in Harlem it is the custom for each household to keep a goat to act as general scavenger. Occasionally, one man will steal another's goat, and the household debris then accumulates to the general annoyance." The truth is that to get his goat seems to be of French origin, and in the form of *prendre sa chèvre*, has been traced back to the year 1585.

Occasionally, of course, genuine Americanisms are claimed as really English. In 1934 even the learned Dr. C. T. Onions, one of the editors of the great Oxford Dictionary, succumbed to the madness by offering to find in the dictionary any alleged Americanism that a reporter for the London *Evening News* could name. The reporter began discreetly with fresh (in the sense of " saucy "), " to figure " (in the sense of " to believe or conclude "), and " to grill " (in the sense

of " to question "), and Dr. Onions duly found them all. But when the reporter proceeded to " rake-off," the editor had to admit that the earliest example in the dictionary was from an American work, and when " boloney " and " nerts " were hurled at him he blew up with a bang.

In the modern Englishman there seems to be very little of that ecstasy in word-making which so prodigiously engrossed his Elizabethan forebears. Shakespeare alone probably put more new words into circulation than all the English writers since Carlyle, and they were much better ones. The ideal over there today is not picturesque and exhilarating utterance, but correct and reassuring utterance.

At its best it shows excellent manners and even a kind of mellifluous elegance ; indeed, the English, taking one with another, may be said to write much better than we do. But what they write is seldom animated by anything properly describable as bounce. It lacks novelty, variety, audacity.

Herein lies the fundamental reason for the introduction of so many Americanisms into British English. They are adopted in England simply because England has nothing so apt or pungent to offer in competition with them. His Lordship of Guildford did not apply " speed-cop " to the " mobile policeman " as a voluntary act of subversion ; he let it slip for the single reason that it was an irresistibly apposite and satisfying term.

Gems of Imagination

There was a brilliant exemplification of the two approaches in the early days of railways. The English called the wedge-shaped fender that was put in front of the first locomotives a " plough," which was almost exactly what it was, but the Americans gave it the bold and racy appellation of " cow-catcher." For the casting which guides the wheels from one rail to another the English coined the depressingly obvious name of crossing-plate ; the Americans, setting their imaginations free, called it a " frog."

The American " movie " is much better than the English " cinema " ; so is " radio " than " wireless," though it may be Latin, and " shock absorber " vastly better than " anti-bounce clip," and " bouncer " than " chucker-out," and " chain store " than " multiple shop." Confronting the immensely American " rubberneck," Dr. J. Y. T. Greig of Newcastle could only exclaim " one of the best words ever coined ! " And in the face of " lounge lizard," Horace Annesley

Vachell fell silent like Sir Isaac Newton on the seashore overwhelmed by the solemn grandeur of the linguistic universe.

One finds in current American all the characters and tendencies that marked the rich English of Shakespeare's time—an eager borrowing from other languages, a bold and often very ingenious use of metaphor, and a fine disdain of the barricades separating the parts of speech. We had already a large repertory of synonyms for "jail," but when the word "hoosegow" precipitated itself from the Spanish "juzgado" somewhere along the Rio Grande it won quick currency. "Bummer," coming in from the German, is now clipped to "bum." "Buncombe," borrowed by the English as "bunkum," has bred "bunco" and "bunk" and "to debunk" at home.

A Conquering Tongue

There are constant complaints in the English newspapers about the appearance of lawless American novelties in the parliamentary debates, and in discourses from the sacred desk. They begin to show themselves also in "belleslettres." They even pop up in the diatribes that revile them; the Englishman, conquered at last, can no longer protest against Americanisms without using them. If only because of the greater weight of the population behind it, the American form of English seems destined to usurp the natural leadership of British English, and to determine the general course of the language hereafter. But its chief advantage in this struggle is the fact that its daring experiments lie in the grand tradition of English, and are signs of its incurable normalcy and abounding vigour.

THE WORLD FORGETTING ITS FRENCH

by PIERRE MILLE

From "La Depêche," Toulouse

THE French language—and with it the influence of French thought and literature—is on the wane.

In Italy the intellectual *élite* still speak French but our language is no longer given first place in the secondary schools. More and more the young people are allowed to choose between English, German and even Spanish, which are held to be more useful from a commercial point of view.

In Germany the same reasons hold good, strengthened by sentimental and political considerations. Rumania, though in a lesser degree, is following suit; the Rumania in which until now French was virtually the second mother tongue of the intellectuals and the aristocracy. In Russia the revolution, of course, changed everything. Under the old regime, ever since the eighteenth century, French was for the aristocracy even more than a "second language." Many noble families used our language more than Russian, which was reserved for the servants and the people. Today only Russian is spoken, unless it be German, which still holds its ground notwithstanding the political antagonism between the two countries.

A certain progress is being made in Czechoslovakia because, in the view of the leaders of that young and vigorous state, every gain for French is a loss for German. But even there the German language is still gaining ground, as are also German literature and German science. It could hardly be otherwise in a country which numbers several million Germans.

English is naturally making progress in Egypt. Certainly intellectual circles there are now obliged to know both English and French, and Italy is spending large sums on her schools in an effort to bring Italian also into line. But the game is not altogether lost; in the Eastern Mediterranean French has preserved at least a part of its ancient pre-eminence.

Even South America—

Strangely enough, in the United States, knowledge of French has increased a little, while in the Latin-American States it has decreased considerably. For that there are two reasons. One is the penetration of English, caused by the growing influence of Anglo-Saxon North America on the habits, the trade and (notwithstanding a natural distrust) even on the politics of the south. Secondly, the decrease of French clerical Missions.

The case of Brazil is even more peculiar and significant. Here we have a great Latin country which is entirely enthusiastic about our language, and our culture, and which has four great non-confessional Franco-Brazilian schools subsidised both by our own Government and that of Brazil.

And yet French is now finding itself in competition with other foreign languages. Brazil is also feeling the cultural and economic

influence of the great Anglo-Saxon Republic of the north. Also, the Italian and German Colonies in Brazil are populous. But there is a further reason for this competition; the growing need for "universality of knowledge."

Religion and trade play their part too. In Protestant England students of theology tend to choose Lutheran Germany for their studies rather than Catholic or atheistic France. And in China and Japan business conditions force even Frenchmen to learn English, the trading language of the Pacific.

One of the most effective factors in the diffusion abroad of French and of our culture is the number of foreign students at our universities. Both the cost of living in France and the mania for economising, which is now spreading even to intellectual spheres, are tending to reduce their numbers. Those foreigners were the best possible agents for the diffusion of that culture. Short-sighted measures taken to keep them away have succeeded only too well.

SWEET NAMES

Some Mexican families go so far as to give their children such names as Articulo veintitres de la Constitution (Article XXIII of the Constitution !), Satanas y el Inferno (Satan and Hell), Soy la Revolucion (I am the Revolution), Viva el Presidente (Long live the President).

One can imagine the scene :

" What is your name, young man ? "

" Long live the President ! "

" I am not asking that. What is your name ? "

" Long live the President ! "

And so on. As for the sweet young thing named Article XXIII of the Constitution, that is surely not a helpful name to go courting with.

" I love you, Article XXIII of the Constitution ! "

" I adore you, I am the Republic ! "

In a way it is delicious...—*Comoedia, Paris.*

DON'T GO DOWN THE MINE, PAPUSCHKA

Convicted by the People's Court at Shchekino for sabotaging the Stakhanov movement in Mine No. 7 (Moscow coal field), Kravchenko, former section chief of that mine, was sentenced to one yëar's imprisonment, and his assistant Sergeyev, to two years' imprisonment.

It was proved at the trial that in Kravchenko's section the seams were constantly blocked up and the coal-cutting machines were often idle. Kravchenko and Sergeyev violated mining labour and safety regulations, ordering foremen to cut coal from under the mine roofs which frequently caved in. They also treated the miners roughly and suppressed self-criticism.—*Moscow News.*

IS EUROPE'S CULTURE DECLINING?

INTELLECTUAL DECAY

by COUNT CARLO SFORZA

From "Books Abroad," University of Oklahoma, U.S.A.

This champion of intellectual liberty is a distinguished Italian ex-Statesman and Ambassador, who resigned on the advent of Fascism in his country

BEFORE the World War, there was only one autocratic government in Europe: the Russian Empire. We should not forget, indeed, that the Germany of the Junker and of William II, as well as Austria-Hungary, recognised the freedom of the Press. And where there is freedom of the Press—or even a certain amount of it—it is impossible to speak of dictatorial autocracy.

What characterises the post-war dictatorships in Germany, in Italy and in Russia is essentially this: all newspapers, all books, all printed matter are instruments of governmental propaganda, with the same result everywhere—intellectual debasement.

It has been fashionable for years to say that democracy is a form of mob rule, while dictatorships offer government by the best. But it is now obvious to everyone that it is the dictatorships that are organised on the basis of mob rule and often on the basis of lynch law.

All the European dictators have proved to be demagogues and first-rate showmen. No Prime Minister in pre-war Europe was so prodigal of ready-made, catch-penny phrases as the dictators of post-war Europe.

One understands now what Cavour meant when he said that any fool can govern by martial law.

How is it, then, that such a lowering of the intellectual and moral atmosphere of Europe has been possible?

In my opinion, those who answer by citing armaments, feverish nationalisms and trade barriers as causes of the world depression are certainly right; but they forget the main human reason: that during the four most horrible years in the history of the world, the flower of European youth fell in battle.

Does not each of us, who lived during or fought in the war, remember that it is on the Carso and on the Alps, in Flanders, and in the pestilential trenches of Macedonia that two or three of our best friends died—friends whom we considered as the purest promises for the scientific and moral life of tomorrow ?

Another thing we forget : those four years of war taught too many survivors the vicious lesson that violence was bravery and duty, that blind obedience, even spiritual obedience, was a moral virtue, that " patriotism " explained and excused everything, even spying on a friend on what was called the " home front," very far from the fire of the enemy.

The Servile Rewarded

The dictators accelerated the process of moral debasement, for everywhere—Russia included—they favoured the flatterers, the so-called experts (who under the pretext of doing their technical work have lent themselves without conscience to serve everybody and everything), but they eliminated all the courageous servants of the State, the most reliable critical minds, the original brains . . .

Years of dictatorship have proved that capable servants stood no chance unless they debased themselves by a simulated servility and never ventured frankly to disapprove policies they considered baneful.

* * *

It is the same thing everywhere, even when dictators are intellectually powerful, as perhaps was the case with Napoleon I and Bismarck. The following description of Napoleonic days in France is not from a radical but from Catholic and royalist Chateaubriand :

" The whole country has become an empire of lies ; newspapers, speeches, prose and poetry, all distort the truth. If it rains, we are assured that the sun is shining. Everything leads up to the master alone. We must above all yell applause when a mistake or a crime has been committed. No book may appear without having pages in it given up to praise of him.

" The crimes of the Republican Revolution were works of passions which always leave certain moral resources. But how heal the wound made by a government that has established despotism as a principle ? Which, talking the whole time of morality, is constantly destroying it ? Which mistakes a terrified condition of slavery for the calm of a well-

organised society? The most terrible revolutions are preferable to such a state."

Chateaubriand's words are a perfect description of post-war European dictatorships.

ENTER JAZZ, BY ORDER

From a Moscow correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor," Boston, U.S.A.

ONE reason why so many bewildering contradictions appear in articles about the Soviet Union is that conditions in Russia change suddenly and unpredictably. A visiting observer, no matter how sincere and careful, cannot safely use observations even a few months old to describe the conditions of today.

Consider music, for example. A year ago visitors to Moscow and Leningrad were much impressed with Russia's musical theatre. Especially with Shostakovich and "Lady Macbeth of Mtzensk."

But in the intervening months the Soviet musical world has been turned upside down; the ruling Communists have frowned heavily upon modern music and have silenced Shostakovich and his numerous associates. At the same time the Government has begun to import wholesale the "jazz puddings of Broadway," and has undertaken the mass production of jazz bands which are now playing in every cinema, café, hotel, in workers' clubs and even on collective farms.

It is true, as some have pointed out, that Russia has experienced something like a cultural renaissance since the revolution. The new rulers have permitted each race and tribe to use its own language freely and to develop its own culture. But this renaissance has been confined within the narrow limits of Marxian Socialism as interpreted by Russian Communists. It is a sort of renaissance in a strait-jacket.

The Communists provide universal compulsory education, and glorify "culture." Millions of newly literate workers and peasants are eagerly endeavouring to acquire knowledge, and their earnestness is inspiring. They acknowledge without question the right of their rulers to guide their tastes.

The Communists take their obligations in this respect very seriously. They believe that music and all other forms of art help

to shape the " new men and women " presumed to arise in their social system. They make arbitrary decisions about art as well as economics.

The party ordered a " return to simple music, comprehensible to the masses, and derived from the people themselves." American jazz apparently fits into this category. But the party is especially interested in the revival of every kind of folk song and dance, for which Russia's 187 races and tribes provide rich material. The youthful composer Djerzhzinsky has superseded Shostakovich in official and popular esteem because he draws largely upon folk material in his operas and symphonies. His opera, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, is now accepted as the approved type for " Soviet music."

The Soviet public has accepted the party's new decisions cheerfully. They like jazz better than they ever did modern music, and appear to enjoy folk songs and dances more than the " propaganda ballets " and " ideological symphonies " of an earlier period.

Some composers, smarting under the party's reprimands for their absorption with modern music, are silent, for the present at least, because they have no heart for composing music based upon the accepted material. But another group of composers, many of them young, have eagerly taken the places of honour in Russia's musical theatre vacated by Shostakovich and his associates.

GERMAN WORKERS' HOLIDAYS

From " Germany," Berlin

IN order to give body and mind an opportunity for rest and recuperation, and to participate in the joys of life and enjoy cultural values, man must organise his leisure time systematically and utilise it suitably. That is easy for the well-to-do and those earning good wages, but hard for the poor man who earns little more than what he requires for his daily life and the maintenance of his family.

The result in earlier days was that many Germans had seen nothing but their immediate environs, could never witness a good theatrical performance, and spent their leisure time and their short holiday at best in an allotment garden.

If it was desired to make the special progress, represented by the eight-hour day, the grant of holidays and other measures, really effective

it was necessary to help the people in disposing of their leisure time. They had to be placed in a position to be able to obtain physical, intellectual and mental recreation during their free hours and days in the same way as their economically better situated fellow-citizens. To achieve this is one of the principal aims of the new German State. The Führer has said that the State does not value the man who works with his pen more highly than the mechanic. It values the individual not according to the description of work he does, but according to the form and quality of the performance.

Such trains of thought gave rise to the first attempts on a large scale which have already become a decisive component of the German Social policy under the name of the National-Socialist Community " Strength through Joy." Immediately after the assumption of power by National-Socialism in 1933, this organisation to which all working Germans belong, almost without exception, began to build up its work. Holiday trips, theatrical performances and courses of instruction in sports were organised at such low prices that even those with little means could take advantage of them.

The holiday trips of the German workers are now so arranged that a number of community trips are run from every region to certain parts of Germany. The journeys coincide with the holiday season and generally last for a week. The expenses are especially small for those with large families or in unfavourable financial circumstances.

It is possible for those living in the German capital to spend a week in the Thuringian Forest, the Erzgebirge or the Bavarian Forest —regions from 190 to 310 miles distant from Berlin—for fifteen marks, including the journey, board and lodging. The holiday tours are run to the most beautiful parts of Germany, to the mountain ranges of medium altitude, to the Alps and to the seaside, and even to Scandinavia and Madeira.

Special Luxury Liners

Utilising the experience of recent years, the National-Socialist Community " Strength through Joy " is now putting fresh great plans into effect. A fleet of thirty vessels, exclusively intended for holiday trips, is to be built. The vessels will be provided with every comfort. They will have only outside cabins, even for the crew, with two or at most four berths, fine dining and public rooms, swimming pools,

sports halls, and promenade and sun decks—hence everything that fastidious ocean travellers only find on the best ships. The first two steamers are already under construction and the others will follow as quickly as the facilities for work in the German ship-building yards permit.

A further plan provides for the creation of large seaside resorts of which the first is already being erected on the island of Rügen. In these seaside resorts the workers will be accommodated in accordance with principles similar to those adopted on the steamers, so that they can recuperate in peace. Each of these resorts is to be capable of accommodating 20,000 Germans at the same time. Hence hundreds of thousands will also be able to enjoy a holiday there every year.

These are only a few instances of evidence of a much larger work. Hundreds of thousands of German workers go every evening to the best theatrical performances for prices ranging from 50 to 80 pfennigs. Hundreds of thousands take part every day in course of instruction in sports which include ski-ing, yachting, tennis, golf, fencing and riding. In many businesses gymnastics already form a regular part of the daily programme. Sports courses are run for men, women and both together, and also for housewives whose children meanwhile indulge in cheery games under the supervision of suitable teachers. The programme also includes variety performances, community rambles, numberless conducted tours of the cultural centres of the German people, and courses of instruction at which cultural knowledge is furthered and increased. The German working man now participates in all that he himself created and that his fathers created in the past. He is not excluded from the joys of existence, for what he creates is created for himself, his family and all those who wish to participate in it.

CHILDREN RUN TOY FACTORY

CHILDREN run the toy factory just opened at the House of Toys at Sokoiniki Park, Moscow. They fill the post of director and foreman and work at the bench for a full shift—an hour and a half. No small part of the attraction lies in the rule that each young visitor working in the factory receives one of the toys produced.

The House of Toys is but one of the many centres of activity at the special section of the park set aside for Pioneers and schoolchildren generally. More than 2,000 youngsters visit it every day to attend the many different art, sports and technical groups.—*Moscow Daily News.*

GERMANS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

by KONRAD HENLEIN

From "International Affairs," London

The appearance of a strong National-Socialist German Reich naturally greatly encouraged the three-and-a-half million Germans who came under Czechoslovak rule through the Peace Treaties. Herr Konrad Henlein, the young gymnastic teacher who leads the Bohemian Germans, is regarded by many pure Nazis as too moderate in his demands. How the Czechs regard him may be seen from the article which follows these extracts from a speech made by him before the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

HISTORICAL and economic reasons caused the leaders of the Czech nation to demand at the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919 the incorporation of the territories inhabited by three and a half millions of former Austro-Germans. These three and a half million Germans are known today as "Sudetendeutsche." They took this name from a mountain-range that surmounts the main part of their native country.

When in the year 1918 the claim for national self-determination seemed about to be realised in Europe, the Sudetendeutsche believed that this right could not be refused to them.

By the Treaty of St. Germain the entire territory inhabited by the Sudetendeutsche was incorporated in the Czechoslovak State. At the same time the Czechoslovak Republic accepted all obligations set forth in the Treaties for the protection of minorities which include the following:

> "All Czechoslovak citizens without difference of race, language or religion shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights."

In spite of this the representatives of the Sudetendeutsche and of the other national minorities, excepting the Slovaks, were not admitted to the National Assembly, which created the fundamental Constitution of the new Czechoslovak State. With this a serious, even tragic, development commenced for my people.

In the preamble to the Constitutional Law, the new State was proclaimed National State of the Czechs and Slovaks. Contrary to the promises given by the Czech Representatives in their Memoir III to the Peace Conference, namely that the German language should be given equal official status, actually only the Czechs and Slovak languages have been made the official State languages.

Instead of overcoming old prejudices and of working together for the building up of the common State, both parties unluckily often behaved in a way that aggravated susceptibilities and caused further distrust. The Czechs did all they could to make themselves felt to be the creators and masters of the new State. They did not take due consideration of the fact that, according to the official census of the year 1921, 6,840,000 Czechs and 1,979,000 Slovaks were inhabiting Czechoslovakia, together with 3,218,000 Germans. Thus the Germans were and still are nearly half as numerous as the Czechs and outnumber the Slovaks by a ratio of almost two to one.

Turned Out of Jobs

Very large numbers of the Sudetendeutsche who were serving as army officers, as State officials, employees, or workmen were turned out of the public services and State industries. A similar procedure took place in the municipalities and rural districts where local government was progressively reduced. The position today is such that the Sudetendeutsche are deprived of nearly 50,000 State official appointments to which, according to the ratio of population, they are rightfully entitled.

It is only human that every race worthy of its history and tradition must defend its most sacred possessions, its language and culture, the land on which it lives as well as its own right to live. Therefore the representatives of the Sudetendeutsche repeatedly brought their complaints before the League of Nations at Geneva. From 1920 to 1926 no less than nineteen petitions concerning violations of the regulations for the protection of minorities were thus brought before the League of Nations. But the way in which minority complaints in general have been treated by the League of Nations up to now has left little or no scope for settlement. This caused deep disappointment to the Sudetendeutsche, and their belief in the League of Nations as the guardian of the minority rights has been shattered.

The Parliament of the Czechoslovakian Republic was, and still is, composed of fifteen to twenty different political parties. It was not until 1926 that two German parties were invited to enter the Government. They hoped by so doing to better the conditions of their people ; but this attempt to bring about a more fair adjustment of the national conditions in Czechoslovakia failed also.

During the past nine years, in spite of the fact that certain German parties supported the Government and certain German ministers have been members of the Government, the situation of the Sudetendeutsche has in no way improved—on the contrary, it has in some respects been aggravated. As a consequence, the hopes of our people of coming to an honest agreement with the Czechs were again dispelled.

Mistakes on Both Sides

Perhaps therefore it can be more readily understood how a radical form of National-Socialism began to develop amongst the Sudetendeutsche. Radicalism is always unwise, and the radicalism of the Sudetendeutsche proved no exception. The embitterment of those deprived of normal means of subsistence led to violent resistance, to unreserved criticism and to a passionate expression of public opinion, and in places to an absolute abandonment of all interest in the State. Those were the faults of the Sudetendeutsche.

Since all this coincided with the accession of the National Socialists to power in Germany, it alarmed the Czech Government considerably. The latter unfortunately made a further mistake. Without examining or trying to remedy the inner political causes that had led to this radicalism, the Government dissolved two German parties that had existed since the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, the largest Sudetendeutsche trade-union, and many other societies, although none of them had committed any revolutionary act.

At that time, in the autumn of 1933, I decided, together with a small number of friends, to try to bring back order into the confused and almost chaotic state of affairs of the Sudetendeutsche and to prepare a better future for our people. You may be surprised to hear that I succeeded in calling into life a movement which today embraces eighty per cent. of the three and a half million Sudetendeutsche.

Of all nations the Sudetendeutsche suffered the severest losses in the Great War of 1914-1918 ; as a consequence almost an entire genera-

tion is missing; and thus a great responsibility falls upon us younger ones.

My appearance in politics occasioned deep mistrust in Czech public life and led to renewed persecution of my supporters, because the movement which I had started was suspected as being merely a continuation of those German national parties which the Czech Government had previously dissolved. But I was convinced that I was working and fighting for a good cause.

I made it clear to the Sudetendeutsche that their real mission lay in acting as mediator between their German mother-nation and the Czech people. That is our great task in the cause of peace. By accepting this the Sudetendeutsche have once more expressed their honest goodwill towards peace and reconciliation....We have no other wish than to obtain our rights, as they were promised to us by the Minority Treaties and confirmed by the Constitution of the Czechoslovak State.

Passed Over at Elections

Contrary to the principles of democracy, my party has been passed over entirely in the formation of the Czechoslovak Government. Likewise our successes at the recent elections for the provincial corporation were ignored.

For a few years past the State government has had the right to nominate one third of the members of the provincial corporations. Last time it nominated only representatives of those parties which had been very nearly annihilated at the polls. Furthermore, by the nomination of an overwhelming number of Czech nationals in these provincial corporations, an apportionment according to ratio of nationality was entirely disregarded, and this was a violation of the Constitutional Law of the State and of the Minority Treaties.

These political troubles are harder to bear at the present time, when we Sudetendeutsche are suffering severely from the general trade depression; whereas the Czechs and Slovaks are mainly employed in agriculture, our people are occupied chiefly in industry. Under the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the Sudetendeutsche operated three-quarters of the entire industry of the State. With the creation of the new Czechoslovak State, the large inland market of former years was lost, and in consequence of the numerous new frontiers and of the

fact that so many European and non-European States are striving for autonomy, the trade exports that are so necessary for our welfare have fallen severely.

Ruined Industry

There are now large districts in our native land in which industry is all but ruined. The total number of unemployed in Czechoslovakia in the spring of this year was about eight hundred and thirty-five thousand; more than half of these were Sudetendeutsche. In the face of this misfortune the Government has not been exactly helpful to us, and we are unable to care properly for the unemployed and their families. Out of three hundred and ninety-six contracts for public works in purely Sudetendeutsche areas that have been carried out during the past three years, three hundred and thirty-two were given to purely Czech firms. Recently the Minister for Social Welfare referred to the fact that more than three hundred thousand children in the Sudeten regions are in a continuous state of under-nourishment. This is the truth about the struggle of the three and a half-million Sudetendeutsche.

WE ASK BRITAIN

by DR HUBERT RIPKA

From "Lidove Noviny," Brno

HENLEIN continually repeats: "We are for the Czechoslovak State, but our feelings are German." This reminder would have sense should the State of which he is a citizen prepare an attack on Germany. But this possibility is so fantastic that not even our most obdurate opponent believes it. It is Henlein's duty clearly to explain how he would conduct himself should Czechoslovakia, to whom he everywhere proclaims his loyalty, be attacked by Germany. The local German Democrats have declared themselves with a decision that leaves not the slightest room for doubt, and they form more than a third of the Sudeten Germans—a fact which should be recognised by the English who suddenly display so lively an interest in the Sudeten Germans in our country.

This question must be asked in order to ascertain whether any conditions exist for cooperation such as some Englishmen have sug-

gested. The Prime Minister, Dr. Hodza, with responsible deliberation, has outlined the reasons why such cooperation is impossible. By its totalitarian ideology and its very organisation, the Sudeten German Party excludes itself from the Czechoslovak political community. In addition Henlein aims at a foreign political orientation which is in direct disharmony with the Czechoslovak foreign policy, a policy with which the whole of the local German democratic camp expressly agrees. The Sudeten German Party fights against our alliance with France and with Russia, against all the foundations to which the international security of our State is firmly anchored. It is obvious that the Party desires that Czechoslovakia should be included in the sphere of influence of the Third Reich. Should it obtain a positive influence on the Czechoslovak State policy it would exert itself to bring about the yoking of Czechoslovakia to the Pan-German chariot.

We ask our English friends, whether they want the Third Reich to rule all Central Europe? For it is as certain as two and two make four that Germany will realise her ambitions for her *Mitteleuropa* if Czechoslovakia becomes her vassal State.

We ask our English friends what interest could they have in seeing Czechoslovakia so weakened, that the way would be opened for pan-Germanic imperialism to march into those territories where the British Empire *has* vital interests?

We ask them finally if they do not feel responsibility that nations like the Czechoslovak nation, believing in the humane ideals which founded the glory, the greatness and the importance of Great Britain throughout the world, should lose that faith, and not being able to rely further on the cooperation of the Western democracies, should seek to adapt themselves to new teachings which are a denial of all European civilisation?

Hitler will not go to war if he obtains all he desires without war. We sincerely desire that relations between Germany and Czechoslovakia should be regulated by permanent friendship. But that friendship cannot be paid for by the risk of Czechoslovakia's becoming Germany's vassal.

ON THE BRAIN FRONT

THE brain of the late president of the Academy of Sciences, USSR, Alexander Petrovich Karpinsky, has been brought to the Institute of Brains. It weighed 1,220 grains and will be kept in formalin.—*Moscow Daily News.*

There is talk of another German coup coming—this time in Danzig, the Baltic port which the Treaty of Versailles took from Germany and made a Free City, supervised by the League of Nations, with Poland in control, inter alia, *of its foreign policy. Danzig's population is German, and the majority in its Senate is Nazi. Following the outburst of its President, Herr Greiser, at the last meeting of the League, opposition newspapers have been suspended, and other oppressive measures taken against the anti-Nazis in the City*

THE GERMAN CLAIM

From the "Kölnische Zeitung," Cologne

DURING the last few months Herr Greiser, President of the Senate, has radically altered the situation in Danzig, which is at last allowed to be a German city, instead of one ruled from outside by international factors which have little to do with the will of its population. What Herr Greiser has done amounted to a work of reconstruction of the national moral, which expressed itself in the triumphant reception he got on his return from Geneva.

The acts of the Danzig Senate under his Presidency are, therefore, the acts of the majority of Danzig, which is gradually becoming more and more German, both in spirit and policy. "Danzig is German" was the simple slogan on the banners which were carried at recent demonstrations, and in this simple slogan is expressed all the joy felt at the successful end of a long fight for the liberation of the German spirit.

Much has been made in the past in the foreign Press of possible factors of conflict between Poland and Danzig; but observers of the economic situation of both countries should notice that there could be no conflict between Danzig and Warsaw, because both are dependent to a very large extent on one another's prosperity. Danzig needs the background of Poland and in her turn Poland appreciates the outlet she gets at Danzig in addition to Gdynia. Gdynia is a modern port with many facilities, but many of the old-established commercial establishments in Poland find it convenient to rely on the services of

Danzig. A conflict between the two is practically out of the question owing to sheer economic necessity.

Indeed one may say that those who have tried to make capital out of conflicts between Warsaw and Danzig are those agents of the destructive spirit who are also trying to mislead the League of Nations with their information services, their ideas, plans and alleged complaints against Herr Greiser's acts. They are continuously on the road between Danzig and Geneva, but they certainly do not represent Danzig opinion, which openly approves of the National-Socialist administration.

Nobody can deny that since the National-Socialist majority has ruled Danzig both trade and employment have benefited. The port is busy and prices are comparatively stable despite the recent equalisation of the Danzig currency with the German mark. Many people feared an unjustified rise in prices, but fortunately, thanks to the wise control of the administration and the good public spirit, this was avoided.

It is more than obvious that the people of Danzig have a right to decide their fate for themselves, and this will take place to the satisfaction of Polish interests, the only legitimate interests besides those of the Germans. It is hardly surprising that the population of Danzig condemns the activity of a few Socialist leaders, who without any following of importance try to impress the foreign Press with their unwanted claims and their pretence of martyrdom.

POLAND IS WARY

From the Polish Press Information Service, New York

AS regards Mr. Greiser's demands for a revision of the Danzig Constitution, the position taken by Poland is that it forms an entity. While Poland is not indifferent to the emphasis laid by the Danzig representative on the necessity of safeguarding Polish rights and privileges in the Free City, it feels that, if the Danzig Senate is willing to scrap certain parts of it with such apparent ease, it would seem that its guarantees to respect other parts might be considered insufficient. This is a matter of direct concern to Poland.

The change in the Constitution in the direction advocated by the

Senate of the Free City would necessarily bring demands for the revision of such of its parts as are not satisfactory from the point of view of Polish interests in the Free City. Danzig might do well to consider whether the present state of affairs would not be preferable to a campaign for far-reaching changes. In the latter case the Polish Government would be compelled to demand privileges which would enable Polish trade to make full use of the Danzig harbour in conditions of absolute peace and security without constant political complications.

The Polish Press has expressed stronger views on this subject. The pro-Government *Kurjer Poranny* states in an editorial that any discussion of Greiser's views is superfluous. It is sufficient to state that, if it is the object of German policy to remove the League of Nations protectorate over the Free City, this object is not acceptable to Poland.

The paper suggests that those who harbour too far-reaching ambitions in Danzig do not realise the actual state of opinions and tendencies in Poland. Polish public opinion and Polish policy will never abandon, and cannot abandon that which in the relations between Danzig and Poland is essential, *i.e.*, Poland's rights to use the Danzig harbour, or any, even the slightest, curtailment of Polish rights in the delta of the Vistula.

NOT SO NAZI DANZIG

From "Prager Presse," Prague

SINCE the National-Socialists seized the helm in Danzig, the little Free State—which covers barely 2,000 square kilometres, and totals about 400,000 inhabitants—has become one of Europe's chief centres of unrest.

There is not the least doubt that the further existence of the Danzig Nazi Party is dependent on the annexation of Danzig by the Reich. Both in Berlin and in Danzig it is perfectly well known that the coming elections, which are unavoidable so long as the Constitution stands, will sound its death knell. Hence the provocative attitude of Greiser (the President of the Danzig Senate).

The influence of Poland, once purely economic, has been making rapid strides. The intrusion of party politics into the schools has

led many families—particularly among the Catholics—to send their children to the Polish schools.

Sporting and similar associations which do not sail under the Nazi flag have been forbidden the use of the municipal grounds, and their meetings now take place on Polish soil. On June 7, a great sports meeting held on the grounds of the Polish club was attended by 15,000 non-Nazis.

While unemployed Germans have been deported, and resident pensioners have been obliged, owing to currency difficulties, to return to the Third Reich, the number of Polish newcomers has appreciably increased.

The result of the campaign for a " German Danzig " seems to be that the German element in the Free State has decreased by about 6,000. The proportion of Germans employed by the railways, which are under Polish administration, has sunk from fifty to twenty per cent.

Danzig has always supported itself, and still does, by its harbour. Its total trade has decreased by twenty per cent. The consequences of the devaluation of the gulden have been catastrophic. Between August, 1934, and the same month of last year employment in Danzig Town alone fell by 4,000, the main cause being the devaluation experiment. The value of the Danzig gulden has sunk by forty-two per cent., and is thus equal to the Polish Zloty. Wages have remained unchanged. But in the period April, 1935, to January, 1936, prices increased by twenty to thirty per cent.

The net showing of three years of National-Socialism in Danzig is, for the population, definitely bad. The people have expressed their discontent by numerous demonstrations. Recent incidents and acts of terrorism in which, alas, lives have been lost, shed a particularly revealing light on this tension. That the opposition is by no means the " small, corrupted minority " to which Herr Greiser referred in Geneva, is shown by the fact that private as well as public meetings of the opposition have been forbidden. But the Nazi regime is not able to stem the rising tide of loyalty to the Constitution.

The elections are bound to come, since the Constitution provides that they shall take place once every four years. They will prove that the opposition is no minority, and that the suffering population, to whom years of misrule have brought economic ruin, stands strongly behind it.

VERDUN 1936

From "Deutsch-Französische Monatshefte," Karlsruhe.

The men who fought in the last war meet on the battlefield and swear to safeguard peace. The journal which here describes their meeting is one (now in its third year) published by the Franco-German Society.

THIS issue appears at the same time as the biggest event yet initiated by the ex-soldiers' movement for international understanding—the demonstration at Verdun.

On the heights so fiercely contested twenty years ago, in front of the Fort of Douaumont, in the midst of hundreds of thousands of wooden crosses, ex-soldiers of all nations which took part in the World War met on the night of the 12th to 13th July, in order, in remembrance of the fallen, to swear a solemn oath of comradeship and peace.

For us Germans and Frenchmen this ceremony has a special significance. Not only because in the battles of Verdun only French and German troops fought one another, and our common share in this reunion therefore bears a more symbolic character than the presence of all the other nations; more—the site of the demonstration has had fateful significance for our peoples since the beginning of our history.

Here in Verdun more than a thousand years ago the division of the Franco-German kingdom of Charlemagne was accomplished, giving rise to an hereditary struggle between two peoples without parallel in the history of the world.

Here in Verdun this hereditary struggle went through its bloodiest phase in the biggest battles in the World War, if not in the history of humanity.

And here in Verdun, twenty years after, the survivors of these battles, the best sons of two peoples separated by fraternal discord for more than a thousand years, meet again, and swear to make an end to the struggle once and for all.

In doing so they speak for public opinion in their countries. In the name of the whole German nation, and before the whole world, the ex-soldier Adolf Hitler has declared that after the return of the Saar to the Reich no further territorial question existed between Germany and France. In the name of their entire nation the French ex-soldiers can declare that the understanding attitude of their govern-

ment since the settlement of the Saar question corresponds to a deep sentiment among the French people, which also wishes to have the frontier problem settled once and for all.

Both, Germans as well as French, have recognised that in the course of the thousand years of enmity there has been no comparison borne between the loss of human lives and the amount of territory conquered, and that it will lead to the complete ruin of both nations if they sacrifice their best youth every thirty years in order to alter the frontier by a few miles.

It is in solemn affirmation of this view that the ex-soldiers of France and Germany unite at Verdun. Their reunion is an historic event.

The hope of the German and French peoples, the conviction of all friends of understanding, is that this third Verdun is just as important a milestone in Franco-German history as the first and second ; signifying this time not a thousand years of enmity but a thousand years of peace.

THE PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL

THE Press Court in Danzig has received an official complaint from the Warsaw Jewish daily, *Moment*, against the order of the Danzig Chief of Police prohibiting entry into the Free City of the *Moment* for six months.

In their complaint the editors of the paper emphasised that the prohibition was unjustified, since it was based on objections to caricatures of Hitler.

They further pointed out that caricatures are tolerated all over the world, and that Hitler, so far as Danzig is concerned, is only a private individual, and there is, therefore, no reason why the Danzig Chief of Police should prohibit circulation of any paper which criticises him.—*World Jewry, London.*

WHERE JOKES ARE TREASON

THE Cologne Court passed a heavy sentence on a citizen of Aachen, who had prepared a pamphlet containing a large number of "jokes " about new Germany and its Government. The pamphlet, with which the accused hoped to earn 25,000 reichmarks, was to be sold in Belgium, Holland and France. The accused, whose action was described by the attorney as bordering on treason, was sentenced to one year and three months' imprisonment.—*Berliner Tageblatt.*

THE WEIGHT-LIFTER'S REWARD

GERMAN athletes who have been fortunate enough to distinguish themselves at the Olympic Games in the presence of their official chiefs have been rewarded with rapid promotion.

The Secretary of Finance saw one of his men win a weight-lifting contest and made him a Taxation Secretary.—*Morning Post, London.*

COLONELS VS. GENERALS

From the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," Missouri, U.S.A.

THE mantle of the late Marshal Pilsudski, as the power behind the Government of Poland, has been officially conferred upon General Edward Rydz-Smigly, says a dispatch from Warsaw. In this position, he carries out the Pilsudski technique of ruling through a puppet President. The complexities of Polish politics become little clearer with this development, but a convenient formula for understanding them is at hand, in an article in the current *Living Age* which says :

> A fierce struggle for power goes forward between the governing groups. Briefly, it is a fight between the Colonels and the Generals, the former led by Foreign Minister Col. Beck, the latter by the commander of the army, General Rydz-Smigly. The Generals are pro-French and anti-Nazi. They view with some alarm the growing power of Hitler. They minimise the danger from Soviet Russia. The Colonels, on the other hand, incline toward Germany. In internal politics, the Generals show democratic tendencies, whereas the Colonels are Fascistic.

Rarely in any country has it been possible to point out so definitely a line of cleavage, and the formula is made the more extraordinary by being based on military rank rather than any political philosophy. For the sake of observers who try to comprehend the trends in the world's present state of transition, it is to be hoped there will be no promotions or reductions in rank among the Polish military hierarchy until equilibrium is attained in that country.

THE FRONTIER PLAGUE

From the "New York World-Telegram"

ONE of Europe's admitted handicaps is if you take a healthy hop in any given direction, you find yourself up against a frontier. Some of the nations are so small that you can see practically everything in them at one look from a passing airplane.

It is axiomatic that wars are mostly of economic origin. As these tiny countries all try to make themselves self-sufficient by throwing up

tariff walls and other economic barriers, it is small wonder that Europe is seldom without a conflict on her hands.

The great pity is that the world hasn't fewer frontiers, economic obstacles and other hindrances to international friendship and intercourse, rather than more.

Educated foreigners envy America her peace and unequalled standard of living. "That," they say, "is because between forty-eight great states, each with its own self-government, there are no frontiers and no trade barriers."

There are signs that Eamon de Valera of the Irish Free State and President Manuel Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth are both doing a little thinking along these lines.

Many former advocates of a Philippine Republic today are just as ardently opposed to it. They are beginning to ask themselves whether they will be able to defend their independence against powerful Nippon, whether severance of all ties with the United States will not doom them economically.

President de Valera apparently is asking himself similar questions. Could a republic of 3,000,000 people defend itself against great and covetous Powers in nearby Europe? Could Irish economy stand the shock of being cut off from British markets or prosper under the handicap of high tariffs?

Already Filipino opinion is swinging in the direction of continuation of the present commonwealth form of government. And President de Valera is at least holding out an olive branch to Britain.

THE PRAIRIE GALAHAD

GOVERNOR ALF M. LANDON (candidate for the U.S. Presidency) prepared himself for the honour that is his by a lonely vigil in his home tonight.

With cheering thousands standing outside the old-fashioned executive mansion of Kansas, with batteries of kleig lights and cameras trained upon the front porch, this governor of a typical prairie state locked himself in his library and communed with his soul.

There was no radio, no interruption to his privacy. His preparation was like that of the apprentice knight of medieval times, praying over his armour in a candlelit chapel for strength and virtue and understanding.—*Chicago Tribune, U.S.A.*

ANOTHER NASTY ONE

WHAT will England do? Even the smallest Son of the Wolf knows the answer: give way, firmly.—*Il Travaso delle Idee, Rome.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible.

PEACE HAS A PRICE

Strangled in birth 17 years ago the League has never had a chance, says the writer of the following letter, who makes a strong attack on the makers of a revengeful Peace Treaty.

SIR—I am profoundly disappointed by the *volte face* announced in your article, " The End of a Chapter." The Jingo element of Britain and France has stayed the course and is now triumphing all along the line. It can count upon the support of the Church—one has seen that coming for some time—and now, apparently, of yourself. I attach very little importance, as regards the success or failure of the League ideal, to the non-success of the sanctions against Italy. That ideal was strangled at birth by the Jingoism of Britain and France, and artificial respiration, applied for seventeen years, has, naturally, not succeeded in resuscitating it. It has been a sham from beginning to end.

Yet: " The next war will mean the destruction of civilisation ! " We have had seventeen years to put things right, but Jingoism has been adamant. The organisers *could* have laid a proper foundation if, unable to fulfil the promise made to Italy, they had compensated her by a mandate for some part of Africa then under British or French control—and refrained from depriving Germany of all her colonies. They chose a sham League for the maintenance of their new and imposed *status quo*; and the whole world has paid the price. In between we have just had either hypocritical or childish antics—or both.

If, after these futile seventeen years, for which we (France and Britain) have been solely responsible, we now line up anew as the " decent " people (ourselves and France in the centre) against the bullies and brigands to whom our conduct has given birth, what does the world gain ? Suppose we win the next war, which we thus provoke—we shall stand again just where we were in 1919, and have, all over again, to fight the old battle against our own Jingoism; or, alternatively, make concessions such as we ought to have made during these seventeen years, and so, at last, take the first steps towards a genuine League.

Past Wrongs

Was it as lovers of humanity that we so twisted the " League of Nations " ideal to our own national and imperial advantage ? That we took all Germany's colonies ? That we continued the blockade, with such dire results, for so long after the Armistice ? That France occupied the Ruhr, with *its* consequences ? I think it was as jingoes, avengers and despoilers. You can think of many other examples for yourself. Even the plebiscite we have twisted and turned until it suited us, as in Upper Silesia !

Abyssinia we let go, as a trifle lost by the way; incidentally, satisfying Italy. But we will not approach the League, through Article 19, for the regulated transfer as a mandate to Germany of a single one of her " lost " colonies (" lost " in a war—but surely not in a League—era !). No " machinery " to enforce a League decision would here be needed, the whole " genuine League " world would hail the decision with joy. Time could be

taken for the actual transfer so that justice could be done to all individuals concerned—which was certainly not the case when we annexed those colonies. We represent ourselves as too moral to make that approach.

If there were any determination to convert this sham League into a real one Article 19 should be the most useful in the Covenant; the "haves" would implement it, instead of leaving it to the "aggrieved," and standing by to ensure that there is no "unanimous" decision. If we can call the aggrieved blusterers, after all those years of patience, can they not call us hypocrites? We need that "giftie" for which Burns longed.

Yours, etc.,
A GOOD EUROPEAN.

Hull. August.

SHOULD ENGLAND HOLD THE RING?

SIR—As no one more qualified has done so, I venture to put forward the following views which I believe are held by a great number of more or less inarticulate English people.

They wish that Britain shall hold herself free from any kind of European commitment, not from the selfish indifference of Lord Beaverbrook's followers, but because they believe that our participation in a European war would only increase its disastrous issue. The certain psychological effect of a war has been ignored by controversialists on every side. Those who would fight for collective security would do well to remember that in any war, even one in the noblest cause, every force of evil is released, of hatred and lies which poison the international atmosphere for years after peace has been signed. Also, even if the war is for a democratic ideal, and if the democratic side is victorious, the peace terms after these evil forces have been released are more likely to be dictated by a group of politicians who will express the immediate revengeful passions of the people, than by men such as, for example, Professor Gilbert Murray, Lord Cecil or Mr. J. M. Keynes.

A Good Influence

If Europe is turned into an internecine shambles when, we have been warned by responsible persons, our civilisation is likely to collapse in blood, every nation that stands aside will be a stabilising force and a centre of sanity, ready to give its impartial and unimpassioned aid to the desolated countries of victor and vanquished, who will by then, we hope, finally have learnt the futility of war.

It is said that we should be unable to keep out of a European war—that some incident would be bound to provoke us to interfere. If we are powerfully armed it is unlikely that any combatant would gratuitously incur our added hostility. America did not entirely escape the last war, but she kept out long enough to be the least exhausted nation, and therefore potentially if not actually the most considerable influence at the Peace Conference.

As regards the morality of this attitude, we no longer have any moral obligation to shed our blood in a Continental quarrel, and I believe it to be the wish of a large majority of English people that we shall repudiate forthwith any written commitment or secret understanding we may have with any European Power; and that we should temporarily abandon all idea of participation in "collective security" which at present is more likely to lead to collective destruction.

Yours, etc.,
MARTIN BOYD.

August 7.

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship.

CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE

PLAN FOR PEACE. By Francis Williams. pp. 184. *Methuen.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

PEACE IN OUR TIME. By Lord Allen of Hurtwood. *Chatto & Windus.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

WHAT can we do now to create conditions in which a collective peace system can function properly? That question is the subject both of this short book by the Financial Editor of the *Daily Herald*, and of this pamphlet by Lord Allen. Both writers reject isolationism and exclusive alliances; both repudiate the assumption that the League is too shattered and discredited to be worth salving: both emphasise that sanctions, military as well as economic, are indispensable for the building up of a peaceful order, but that no peace system will long endure if it does not provide amply for peaceful change and for constructive services of peace: and both recognise that the Government's irresolute policy on collective security makes the worst of both worlds.

Mr. Williams, in two excellent chapters on the Colonial question, "debunks" inflated notions about the value of Colonial Empires for the solution of problems of "over-population," "access to raw materials," and assured markets; but he emphasises that the debunking, now fashionable, is far from being enough.

Amongst the changes he advocates are the extension of the principles of the Mandate system to all colonial territories not yet ripe for self-government; development of the Mandate system; the creation of a Colonial Loans Authority under the League, and of a "World Resources Board"; and, of course, reversal of the Ottawa policy of making the Empire a closed economic preserve. He steers clear of all proposals involving cessions of territory (e.g., Cyprus to Greece, Gibraltar to an international authority), and maintains—perhaps too summarily—that to transfer colonial territory to Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy would be a dishonourable attempt to buy our own peace at the cost of "bitter captivity" for the native peoples.

Lord Allen sets out a ten point Draft Agenda for the League Assembly in September. He calls for a "truce" for a certain period, during which no changes by force, direct or indirect, may be attempted: but there would according to his plan, be no attempt to secure a truce in the armaments race until the new general agreement had been signed. "I doubt whether Britain can avoid rearmament while it is uncertain whether the new settlement will be reached." Lord Allen does not meet the difficulty that the British increase of armaments is at present not an agreed contribution to a

loyally accepted policy of collective security, but is purely self-judged. If the arms race continues on these lines everywhere at the present rate, the proposed "truce" for a certain period, besides adding nothing to the Kellogg Pact, will add precious little to European confidence.

But the pamphlet, like the book, is a valuable and passionately sincere contribution to the most momentous and urgent discussion in the world.

THE RISKS OF PEACE

VITAL PEACE: A STUDY OF RISKS. By Henry Wickham Steed. *Constable.* 10*s.*

Reviewed by W. HORSFALL CARTER

WHETHER as soothsayer or as Greek chorus Mr. Wickham Steed has played a notable part in the tragedy of post-War frustration. Here is an eye-witness account, so to speak, of the earlier phases of the quest of international security, combined with a refreshing personal commentary on the nature of peace: two books in one, but essentially linked in the theme of his sub-title.

Today the States have frankly reverted to type. They may prate of peace, but all are preparing for war. And the notion of collective responsibility which is fundamental to the League has been abandoned in favour of alliances and new forms of neutrality. Does it ever occur to the complacent British public that its own ruling caste is largely to blame? Mr. Wickham Steed, though he is not out to score points at all, makes this plain in the chapter "What Might Have Been"; for by her "short-sighted" withdrawal from the Anglo-French Guarantee Pact of June 28, 1919, concluded as an interim measure "until the Council decided . . . that the League afforded adequate protection," Britain repudiated the only principle on which disarmament was possible.

We are reminded that to smooth the Americans' ruffled plumage Mr. Lloyd George had written to Colonel House promising that the "freedom of the seas"—No. 2 of the Fourteen Points—should be fully discussed at the Peace Conference. Actually, no more was heard of it: the Admiralty imposed its veto. On the other hand there seems to have been unanimous acceptance in the League of Nations Commission of the principle enunciated by M. Léon Bourgeois "that neutrality disappears within the League . . ." which was President Wilson's meaning.

The defection of the U.S.A., however, provided just the excuse for cleaving to self-regarding power-politics: so that, after rejection of the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the Geneva Protocol, H.M.G. blithely conceded the German claim, pressed at Locarno, to "contract out," at Germany's own discretion, of the obligation of "common action" against an act of aggression. (In 1927 Sir Austen Chamberlain distinguished himself at Geneva by addressing the Assembly as "your League!") And all Mr. Wickham Steed's eloquence on both sides of the Atlantic failed to induce the champions of the Pact of Paris to draw the logical consequences from their renunciation of war, namely, the outlawry of neutrality. It is the self-same principle of social security to be found in the "hue and cry" against crimes of violence adopted as an effective deterrent in the rudimentary stage of the national community. "Collective security" was a fumbling in the right direction: but Britain's conversion came much too late.

Non-war must, then, be safeguarded by non-neutrality—this is the author's message, and that of the Covenant. But these negatives, prevention of war, "keeping of peace," etc., will never make any deep or lasting appeal to red-blooded human beings. Men live by their emotions, and they will only be

won for the cause of peace if that cause offers " an adequate occasion for self-devotion and self-sacrifice," if it is identified with " creative helpfulness." Here Mr. Wickham Steed admirably exposes the futility of so many pacifists and rationalists who refuse to recognise the appeal of a Hitler or a Mussolini—or even traditional patriotism. Non-war, as the author says, is an object worth pursuing only on the way to the goal of peace as a great adventure, and education for this " new chivalry " has hardly begun.

By slurring over the ethical vacuum in which States, as distinct from nations, revolve, Mr. Wickham Steed has just missed writing an epoch-making book. But it is a noble record of his own pilgrim's progress through the deepening shadows of our time.

SHORTER NOTICES

WORLD POLITICS, 1918-1936. By R. Palme-Dutt. *Gollancz.* 5*s.*

THE author of this book, which runs to more than three hundred and fifty closely-printed pages, is editor of the *Labour Monthly*. A convinced Marxist, Mr. Dutt explains everything in terms of his faith. All facts are made to fit the theory of Communism. As an exercise on that theory his book is well worth reading—if you can endure the familiar jargon.

LEFT WINGS OVER EUROPE, or How to Make a War about Nothing. By Wyndham Lewis. *Cape.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

MR. WYNDHAM LEWIS has delivered a Houstonian broadside which makes excellent reading whatever one may think about his *Weltanschauung* or his accuracy. He is wholeheartedly anti-Soviet, and makes no bones about it at all. Although so wildly biased as to become nonsensical at times, there is value in his ruthless exposure of hypocrisy in democratic quarters, particularly as regards the Peace Treaties.

IN THE HEART OF EUROPE. By Gerald Druce, M.Sc. (Lond.), R.Nat.Dr. (Prague), F.I.C. *Allen & Unwin.* 6*s.*

A USEFUL book about one of the most interesting countries of Europe—Czechoslovakia—packed full of information on most aspects of life, and with many illustrations. If the book has a fault, it is that the style is somewhat academic. Also it would have been better to ignore politics altogether than, say, to dismiss the subject of German minorities with: " Germans . . . are, on the whole, satisfied with their conditions. They are today good and diligent citizens of the republic. . . "

THE DECADENT PYJAMA

A MOVEMENT to re-instate the night-shirt into to its old position as against pyjamas now used by most men has started in the United States and Canada.

Adherents of the movement have formed the " Nightshirt Club " with branches at Ottawa and New York.

One of the leaders of the movement, Dr. Davis of Ottawa, told newspaper reporters that the wearing of pyjamas denotes feminine influence on male fashions. All great Americans, like Washington and Lincoln wore night-shirts, Dr. Davis said.

An American writer, member of the New York section of the Club, declared that he collected historic evidence to the effect that great men like Nero and Napoleon wore nightshirts and that the pyjama was the sign of decadence.—*Basler Nachrichten, Basle.*

VEGETARIAN PASSIONS

A CROWD of 200 vegetarians attacked and demolished the leading restaurant of the town of Radauti, Rumania, because it was frequented by people who were formerly vegetarians.—*Politiken, Copenhagen.*

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

BY FJORD AND FJELL

by C. F. O. CLARKE

"BUT the fjords are all alike," objected a friend to whom I confided my plans for a holiday in Norway. So they may seem to those who only view them through the smoking-room window of a cruising liner: but all who travel by fjord steamer, by motor and, best of all, on foot know that each inlet has a character of its own.

By landing at Bergen most visitors from England miss the highly civilised Oslo fjord. Here a hundred wooded islands are mirrored in shining water. Ocean-going liners and tramps, laden to the water-line with forest timber, overshadow the jaunty local craft; yachts heel over to the waves, their booms skimming the surface; bathers bob happily up and down near the shore. Before each home—for a Norwegian's house is his ship—colours flutter at the masthead. Everywhere the inhabitants of the trim little capital are enjoying their shortlived summer to the full.

North of Bergen, the Sognefjord is the great highway between the coast islands and the central plateau. For over a hundred miles its broad expanse runs inward from the sea. Little steamers ply regularly up and down with a freight of tourists and motor cars, mails and merchandise. The landscape is wilder here: looking upwards the fringe of pines soon tails away into a handful of dwarf birches above the summer pastures. Higher still, the crags are buried under gleaming snow.

The many branches off the main sound are narrower and even more impressive. Such is the Fjaerlandsfjord, winding inwards towards the Jostedalsbrae, the greatest icefield in all Europe. Tiny farms or "seter" lie scattered along the water's edge; the hay is strung on long wires to dry; oats and barley ripen under the August sun in small plots wrested from the encroaching woods; the livestock consists of a pony or two, a few stunted cows and the ubiquitous goat. Further on, a landing-stage and a group of whitewashed wooden houses betoken a village. The largest building is the hotel, the next largest the school. A curtain of silver ice fills the background.

At its eastern end, the Sognefjord is met by the deep gorge of the Laerdal, a famous salmon river. On the upper reaches the rock falls perpendicularly into a seething cauldron, bordered by narrow platforms from which the fisherman casts and, if lucky, lands his fish. Although the latitude is north of the Shetlands, the heat can be stifling, for the sides of the gorge burn like giant reflectors. Gradually the valley opens out as the road rises towards the

watershed. At Borgund, a wooden "stavkirke" or ancient Viking church is preserved, its lintels inscribed with runes and its roof adorned with carved dragon heads. From the desolation of the high ground the road winds down again into welcoming valleys, past cultivated foothills, to the railhead at Fagernes.

The dun-coloured Nordfjord ponies are the emblem of another great waterway further up the coast. One branch leads to those savage gems, the lakes of Olden and Loen, fed on the milk of encircling glaciers. From another, the road swings up to Videseter and on to the peaks of the Jotunheim, the cradle of Norwegian rock-climbing. Or, striking north again, you may descend in even sharper spirals to Merok and the Geirangerfjord.

This is the classic of its kind. Vast sheets of rock drop into deep, still water. The sun glitters on polished granite, worn smooth by the grind and fret of primeval ice. Waterfalls, now like dancing plumes, now like lace veils, pour down over towering ledges. Directly overhead, the brittle air is torn by the scream of seagulls.

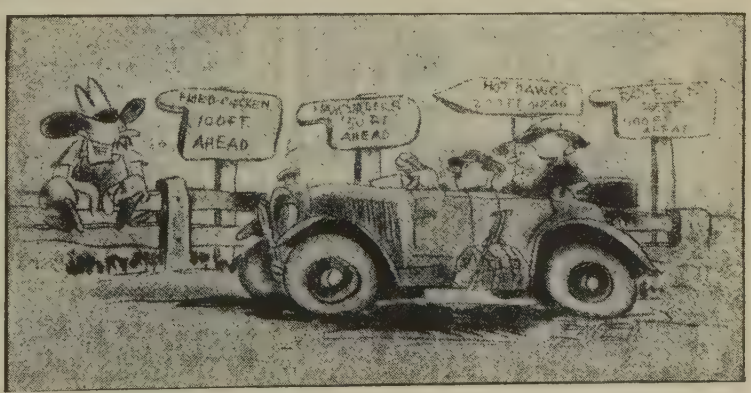
But there are many goals besides pure sight-seeing for the traveller in Norway. Those who can afford it fish for salmon. For them, the greatest thrill is the plunge of the hooked fish as it leaps in the rapids and falls back with a resounding splash on the hastily slackened line. Others, anxious for a more certain sport, pass the long hours of northern daylight beside the sea-trout pools.

The mountain climber, too, has a rich choice. There are ascents of all difficulties, some daily achieved, others in almost virgin territory. The most frequented district is the Jotunheim, but even there civilisation seems at all times remote; hotels and huts are simple, though adequate, and in between them lie many miles of bare "fjell." The roof of Norway is a wilderness of stone and reindeer moss, which by its hoar discolouring gives the land an air of vast age. Here the trolls and hobgoblins of Norse legend have their playground, shared only by eagles and occasional ptarmigan. But, once the crests are scaled, what a reward! Glacier and tarn, fjord and mountain range, succeed one another in boundless perspectives to every compass point.

For the newcomer, the best plan is probably to travel from place to place, halting for a few days wherever the mood seizes him. Local knowledge will always inform him of the best walks in the neighbourhood and of the short cuts to adjoining valleys. Fast transport is provided by excellent

TOURING IN THE U.S.A.

"Ask this gentleman, Henry, how far it is to ham on rye."



1,000 *New Jokes*," *New York*

motor bus services along the main roads. Hotel charges are reasonable, good coffee is the prerogative of nearly every inn, as well as a bountiful table of "sm rrebröd," the national *hors d'oeuvres* that are a meal in themselves.

And what joy could be greater than, for instance, in fine weather, to cross that miniature Greenland, the Jostedalsbrae, and, after panting up the moraine, refreshed at every pause by lush bilberries, to launch out on the snow with its gaping ice caverns. Ahead, the Thor glacier thunders in hidden collapse : below, the ridges of the Austerdal splay out like the ribs of a great white horse. And still another day must pass before even a cart track is sighted. That is unspoiled land, land for the choking Londoner who cries for air.

£14 FOR A TROUT

An American fishing enthusiast flew in the airship "Hindenburg" to Frankfort-on-Main for one day only. After spending a day fishing for trout he went back in the airship to the U.S.

To Newspaper reporters he declared that he was perfectly satisfied with the trip because he caught twelve trout. As the fare cost £164, each trout cost £14.—*Pester Lloyd, Budapest.*

FLAGGED WITH SAUSAGES

Instead of flags the town of Portsmouth (Ohio) celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of its great sausage factory with—sausages.

All public buildings were decorated with long chains of sausages. Sausages were also hanging from high poles in the main streets. The festivities ended with the distribution of sausages among the poor.—*New York Times.*

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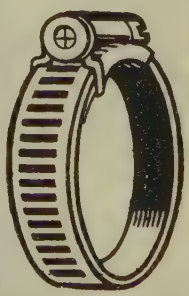

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ARE WORLD RECORDS JUSTIFIED?

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

MOST of the new car programmes have by now been announced for 1937. At Bonneville Salt Flats this summer, I claim that I, and the others who helped me, contributed something towards new car improvements, perhaps for 1938, perhaps many years further ahead.

I am so firmly convinced that we shall evolve the car of the future from the speed car of today that I am constantly surprised by the scepticism still displayed by some people towards speed achievements. "You tell us," they say, "that in 48 hours you covered 6,544 miles, faster than anyone has ever covered that distance on land before. A world's record, in brief. Well, what of it?"

With Albert Denly as my fellow-driver taking alternate spells at the wheel, we managed, in spite of bad luck and many difficulties, to keep our car, *Speed of the Wind*, at an average of over 136 miles an hour for two days and two nights—which is equal to travelling at more than two miles a minute, non-stop, from London to New York and home again. Incidentally, we were able to secure in the course of our run sixteen other world records.

Proven Value

And what of it? Only a month ago, I gave some of the reasons why I believe speed records are preeminently worth while. "We boast of the reliability of the modern car," I said, "but it is not always realised how much of that reliability is the result of actual experience on the race track." When I wrote that, we had yet to go for our big records. Actual experience has abundantly justified our faith.

For two days and two nights, travelling a distance more than many motorists cover in a year, at a speed over four times as fast as the legal limit allowed in built-up areas, our car finished up apparently quite ready to make another 48-hour run. For the whole 6,000 odd miles, it required no attention whatever, except to fill up with fresh petrol and oil, replenish the water in the radiator, and change the tyres. Although a racing car is sometimes inclined to be as temperamental as a prima donna, *Speed of the Wind* never failed to start up instantly after a halt for replenishment or change of driver.

Tyres for Two Runs

Changing the tyres at frequent intervals in a distance of less than 7,000 miles may not, at first glance, impress a private owner who is accustomed to enjoy a much greater mileage on one set. As far as tyre life is concerned, however, there can be no comparison between racing and ordinary motoring. The tyres on Sir Malcolm Campbell's *Blue Bird* last for two runs only—and that is a miracle. Judged by racing standards, our tyres behaved splendidly and never gave the least anxiety. In this connection, let the sceptics note that the research involved in producing tyres fit for Bonneville is of immediate practical value in the construction of tyres that will never have to face anything more strenuous than a quiet Sunday afternoon's run into the country.

In spite of the fact that *Speed of the Wind* weighs two-and-a-half tons, and was driven for a great part of the time at nearly 160 miles an hour, our petrol consumption averaged ten miles to the gallon. This will compare very favourably with the petrol consumption of many limousines driven at sedate speeds. As for the oil, it is possible to draw a direct comparison between

racing and practical, every-day motoring, for the oil we used was not racing oil at all. It was exactly the same as you can buy at any garage in this country. When that is borne in mind, a consumption of only seven gallons for 6,500 miles at racing speeds is extremely moderate. Throughout the whole of the run, we added no more than a pint of oil to the gearbox and the final drive, and then only to be on the safe side.

Petrol Gives Out

Almost the only mischance in the whole attempt was the result not of mechanical fault but of human error. In the hurry of filling up with fresh petrol at one of our halts, someone gave short measure, so that seven-and-a-half miles away from the main depot, I found the tank was dry. Around the 10-mile track on the salt bed we had established emergency depots. I managed to pull up at one of these, but found they had no petrol.

I remembered, however, a small supply in a special tank on the car which we used for starting, and hoped that this would carry me round the track to the main depot. It failed after only four miles, and once again I had to pull up at another emergency depot. By the rules of record breaking, I had to make my stop exactly opposite the depot. If I had made any miscalculation, I should have had to push the car unaided—with the thermometer registering 110 degrees in the shade. Here petrol was at last forthcoming, and we were able to continue our record run after an unfortunate delay of 17 minutes, which, even in 48 hours, represents a big loss of time.

Although Bonneville Salt Flats are one of the very few places in the world where these record attempts are now possible, the hard surface of packed salt suffered severely in the course of the run. In spite of changing over to a new circuit after the first 24 hours, we added many unofficial miles to our distance, in our efforts to avoid the bad patches. So broken up did the track become that we had to "conscript" workers from the railway, buy or borrow every shovel we could obtain in the nearest village, and organise gangs of track menders to shovel and ram the track into usable order during spasms of only about four minutes between each passing of the car.

For months we had waited for fair weather and good conditions on the salt bed. When we started, the track was only just usable, while the weather remained a gamble. Weather, indeed was a factor of immense importance from as far back as April, when I made my new world's diesel record of 159 miles an hour. While I was actually in the course of making that record, a black cloud settled over the mountains on which I was sighting the car, with the result that I was driving blind, and twice had to slow down in case I hit the timekeepers.

On the 48-hour run, we experienced not only terrific heat, but also a driving sandstorm, while one of the worst moments of all was the blinding glare in the first few minutes after sunrise.

REAR LIGHTS FOR CATS

Cats in Ohio are not allowed to run around without red lights attached to their tails.

This is one example of ancient legislation which is still in force in the American States.

An American writer who is collecting such gems of legislation found that in certain Southern States it is a crime to go to the church on Sundays without a loaded revolver, and that people in Centralia (a town in the State of Washington) must wear beards, while people in Los Angeles must not wear side-whiskers.—*Baltimore Sun.*

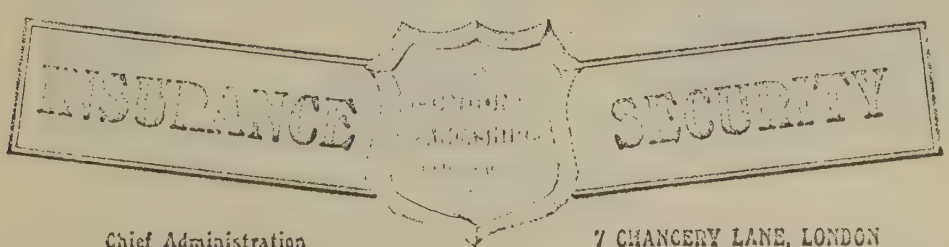
THE WORLD OF FINANCE

AN ECONOMIST'S LAMENT

"Rapier" before leaving on a combined holiday and investigation of things financial and economic in Eastern Europe, sent this poetical cri de coeur *in place of his customary survey*

Not "Arms and Man" but Armaments
I sing,
Nor peace nor plenty in my arms I
bring.
Tariffs, restrictions, quotas, Ersatz,
drought,
Men vie with Gods to keep the plenty
out.
Some clipt their coinage and, with what
they stole,
Keep idle myriad hands upon the dole.
Some claim a bonus on a soldier's pay
Who never fought nor even ran away.
Others reap harvests from a field
unsown
Or market hogs that never yet were
born.
And ships of all the seas at anchor lie
While cargoes rot or burn which none
will buy.
A world where law's replaced by
might's decree
And debtors hold their creditors in fee.
Where *rentiers*, timid as proverbial
hares,
Ever seek safety in the midst of scares.
Now East now West their balances they
speed,
That Capital may earn its modest meed.
And still the Golden Calf with sphinx-
like mien
Draws worshippers anew in search of
gain.
Men slowly strive to raise the hidden ore
And quick inter the gotten gold once
more.
Each hoarder rents his mercenary tomb
And earth receives its own back to its
womb.
Yet in those marts where hucksters
daily sell
The stocks and shares that *rentiers*
love so well
The word goes round that money can
be made
Though man should quite abandon
foreign trade.
For what if trade *be* dead and war *is* hell
"Re-arm's" the word and that must
profits swell.
Should wily brokers, ever quick to
please,
Seductive murmur—"Buy a few of
these"—
Then take the cash in hand and waive
the rest
So shall the bomber and the bombed
be blest!

RAPIER.



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Some claim a bonus on a soldier's pay
Who never fought nor even ran away.
Others reap harvests from a field
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Or market hogs that never yet were
born.
And ships of all the seas at anchor lie
While cargoes rot or burn which none
will buy.
A world where law's replaced by
might's decree
And debtors hold their creditors in fee.
Where *rentiers*, timid as proverbial
hares,
Ever seek safety in the midst of scares.
Now East now West their balances they
speed,
That Capital may earn its modest meed.
And still the Golden Calf with sphinx-
like mien
Draws worshippers anew in search of
gain.
Men slowly strive to raise the hidden ore
And quick inter the gotten gold once
more.
Each hoarder rents his mercenary tomb
And earth receives its own back to its
womb.
Yet in those marts where hucksters
daily sell
The stocks and shares that *rentiers*
love so well
The word goes round that money can
be made
Though man should quite abandon
foreign trade.
For what if trade *be* dead and war *is* hell
" Re-arm's " the word and that must
profits swell.
Should wily brokers, ever quick to
please,
Seductive murmur—" Buy a few of
these "—
Then take the cash in hand and waive
the rest
So shall the bomber and the bombed
be blest !

RAPIER.

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